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ANTISEMITISM
ILLUMINATED

Inclusion and exclusion
since the Age of Enlightenment
up until the Dreyfus affair

Inclusion and Exclusion:
Perspectives on Jews
from the Enlightenment
to the Dreyfus Affair

Texts collected and edited by

ILANA Y. ZINGUER Er SAM W. BLOOM

BRILL

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ENLIGHTENED ANTISEMITISM

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up to the Dreyfus affair

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ILANA ZINGUER AND SAM W. BLOOM

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Antisemitism or antimodernism? Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu,
léanse rapeseed Cle Te) SERRE Re ee
Antoine Compagnon

FOREWORD

The French title, as it was conceived from the beginning and as we
We have retained in Hebrew for this colloquium, 'Enlightened Anti-Semitism,
from the Enlightenment to the Dreyfus Affair, it started from a
a concern inspired by the 'enlightened' vision of the Enlightenment, that of
Voltaire, for example. However, as the reactions of the par-
Participants, reflections from the organizers, we got along well
insights that these terms contained some ideological naivety
not followed by the currents of thought and practices of Culture
Western, which we were about to study. For speaking of an-
Semitism in Montaigne's time was inappropriate, in the time of
Inappropriate lighting and during the 19th century, when battles
illuminated positions regarding otherness; this term referred to bru-
at-
attitudes that make this collection so rich.

The objective of this conference was broader than simply wanting to draw up
the history of antisemitism in all its varieties and nuances,
However, most studies revolved around this phenomenon.
They suggested that Jews were often not the scapegoat.
It is important for an author, a class, a nation, but that contempt
traditional for the Jew, due to his rejection of Christianity and
the 'exclusivity' of its customs, has allowed for the encouragement of a
metonymy; the Jew represents some quality or entity that is either hated, or
dreaded: capital, the free market, modernism in its senses
various, the State, especially in France where many Jews were admitted
to the body of civil servants as Pierre Birnbaum explains.

This symposium was organized at the University of Haifa in March 2001
by Îlana Zinguer, Sam W. Bloom and Harvey Chisick that we
We thank you for your invaluable help.

Ilana Zinguer
Sam W. Bloom

MODERN TIMES

INTRODUCTION
FRENCH-STYLE ANTISEMITISM?

Pierre Birribaum

On the morning of Monday, February 26, 2001, just a few months ago
after several synagogues had been burned or attacked, that
Jewish schoolchildren were threatened as they left school, that's...
the old
the slogan, 'Death to the Jews', provoking increasing concern
legitimate in the face of this open resurgence of brutal anti-Semitism,
In the return of calm, a particularly symbolic ceremony took place.
It took place in the grand state room of the Élysée Palace.
President of the Republic, Jacques Chirac, presented the insignia of
Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, the highest distinction awarded
few French people can be proud of, according to Ady Steg, the president of
The Universal Israelite Alliance, whose history, since Adolphe Crémieux,
embodies in itself the long marriage of the Jews and the Republic.
Surrounded by ministers, members of parliament, and ambassadors, including the Israeli amb
rabbis, various personalities from the world of culture, the pre-
President Jacques Chirac, in a speech of high standing, emphasized
I admire Ady Steg's complete integration into French society.
he who came to France at the age of seven from the borders of the Carpathians,
has reached the highest levels of science and renown.
After having acknowledged, in 1995, for the first time, in a dis-
crucial course, the responsibility of France in the deportation of

Jews by Vichy, after having celebrated the innocence of Captain Dreyfus
when his statue was finally found, after many difficulties and reservations
surprising ences, a welcoming place on Boulevard Raspail, after
having emphasized, in these same salons of the Elysée, in 1997, during a
ceremony commemorating the meeting of the Great Sanhedrin, the contribution
fundamental role of Jews in the service of France and the Republic,
On this occasion, it is to recognize, in his eyes, the merits of this
'non-communitarian community' which has managed to remain open to
the Other while remaining true to itself within the French nation.
In a remarkable response speech, Ady Steg emphasizes his
'love of France', he wishes, if he could, like the rabbis,

4. Pierre Birnbaum

'to bless' the Republic in this secular place, he evokes at length, in particular...
particularly in these very difficult times, the unwavering attachment of
French Jews' stance towards Israel, recalls its own role at the head
of the very official Mattéoli Commission on compensation for
Jews because of their persecution by Vichy and finally notes that he
Almost sixty years passed between the time he wore the star
yellow on his jacket and the one where he now wears the grand cross
of the Legion of Honour. What irony, what a contrast, what a vin-
che, as if in his own person, all at once, were revealed
the two sides of the modern history of the Jews of France, the persecution
the most ferocious anti-Semitic campaign conducted by the state itself and its services
official vices, the most extreme celebration stated in such a way
solemn, in the eyes of all, by that same State. In the palace of
The Élysée Palace, just like the President of the Republic, Adv Steg sees himself
forced to acknowledge that at this tragic moment in their history
What the Shoah represents: the Jews of France were betrayed and abandoned.
given by their State, that they were instead saved by their
fellow citizens, through these Righteous Among the Nations honored at Yad Vashem, such as
L'Herbier, Steg's young friend who, in July 1942, warned him of
the imminence of the roundup, like Madame Jean, the concierge who hides him
without hesitation, like his high school teacher who, in view of his
yellow star, gives the students in his class the text of
Montesquieu on tolerance.

Should the Jews of France therefore fear inat- anti-Semitism?
tense from the State that emancipated them or, on the contrary, that of the circles
such heterogeneous social groups which, at various times, proclaim their violent
Hostility? Is there a French-style antisemitism in this society?
where Renan describes for the first time in such ambiguous terms,
the opposition between Aryans and Semites, where Gobineau, Vacher de
Lapouge and Jules Soury laid the foundations of bio- anti-Semitism
logically, Drumont stands out as one of the intellectual glories-
the most indisputable of the late 19th century, whose analyses are
still sometimes cited today with reverence, where Barrès imagines
the arrival of a national socialism fundamentally hostile to Jews, where
Massive anti-Semitic demonstrations are also being invented

by disciplined national organizations which, by comparison,
make them almost ridiculous, in reaction to Napoleon's measures
of Jewish emancipation, the German pogroms of 1819, Hep! Hep!,
suddenly thrust into a distant history at the dawn of modern-
unity and the impending tragedy? Is there a way specific to the

France to implement the anti-Semitic hatred that is spreading, open-
either directly or insidiously on the far right, as is often the case on the extreme-
left, right as well as left, among reactionaries as
among Republicans, among whimsical utopian socialists like
among the most established scholars, painters, and, unfortunately,
so many writers whose endless list frequently makes one painful-
reuse the reading of the great classics.

It is obviously unwise to imagine, in the Goldhagen style, purely
ahistorical provocation, the existence of long-term anti-Semitism
rooted in the nature of French society, consubstantial with its history
It is, however, admissible within the framework of good socio-
comparative logy of antisemitism taking seriously a certain
number of variables, to pose the question of a proper path
French antisemitism as an unexpected consequence but
ultimately quite logical given a particular construction of politics
in this society which also invented the first formula
of the nation-state with its 'perverse effects', still so formidable, for util-
reading the language of sociologists, which contemporary proponents of
multiculturalist theses, the proponents of the so-called 'recognition' policy
birth", from Isaiah Berlin himself to Charles Taylor or even
Michael Walzer still vehemently rejects this today.
the logic of the nation-state which, according to them, mutilates indispensable identities
sands to the construction of the deep self and have only disdain for
they believe that a French model is destructive to collective identities
lectives in general, denier of Jewish identity in particular, without
to what extent does this constitute deliberate antisemitism?
Yet such a rejection of particular collective identities, conse-
quasi-mechanical frequency of a specific construction method of
Does politics necessarily involve prejudice and racism?
antisemitism? Prejudices against Bretons or Auver-
Are the gnats similar to those whom the Jews who occupy
a completely different place in the national imagination?

We must therefore return to the nation-state in the process of homogenization.
internal, to rationalism, to the Enlightenment, to the French mode of emancipation-
depation, of regeneration thanks to which the new man that is des-
Now the citizen finds himself stripped of his own identity, of his
personal and collective qualities, of a part of himself upon entering
enthusiastically in the public space. To grasp the centrality that it occupies.
Let us once again consider the plight of Jews in modern France.
the lack of a comparative perspective within Jewish studies stemming

essentially research by German Jewish scholars of the mid-19th century
of the 19th century, rejected from the University by the dominant anti-Semitism
which excludes Jews from all public office. The History of the Jews
but also that of Abraham Geiger's anti-Semitism up to the tra-
contemporary works by a Jacob Katz feed almost exclusively on
the nature of this German approach, so different from the French approach:
Jews were only partially emancipated there in 1869 and they did not
true access to public space only much later, under the
Weimar Republic during which, to use the expression
In Peter Gay's work, the Jew as 'outsider' finally becomes an 'insider'.
This was also the moment when the mythical, late 'Judaization' of Germany
reaches its peak with denunciation, as Steven observes
Aschheim, of a 'Jewish Republic'?

The antisemitism that explicitly emerges under this term in
September 1879 with the birth of an anti-Semitic league founded
among others by Wilhelm Marr, officially recognized by Treitschke
in November of the same year, represents a novelty compared to
port to prejudices hostile to Jews of the past, fueled by the
anti-Jewish Christian values: as Amos Funkestein states, tou-
Days about the German case, 'political anti-Senutism presup-
poses the question of emancipation and is directed against it; therefore, it represents a
a new phenomenon in Jewish history." In his view, just as
For other Holocaust specialists, this political anti-Semitism
The extreme consequences therefore result, in the name of race, from the sole
rejecting the political modernity linked to the advent of the Enlightenment, he
Therefore, it is not the direct consequence, as Ben-Zion believed.
Dinur or Norman Cohn and so many others, of the sole anti-Semitism tra-
traditional which nonetheless played its own role by offering a
context in which political antisemitism could perhaps-
to flourish more.

However, until the rise of Nazism, anti-Semitism, to be very
widespread in Germany, to the point of almost provoking rejection.

! Peter Gay, Weimar Culture: the Outsider as Insider, New York, 1968.

? Steven Aschheim, "The Myth of 'Judaization' in Germany", in Jehuda
Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg, The Jewish Response to German Culture, University Press
of New England, London, 1985, p. 238.

∗ Amos Funkestein, 'Theological interpretations of the Holocaust: an assessment', in
François Furet, Nazi Germany and the Genocide: An Assessment, Gallimard, Paris, 1985, p. 4
See David Engel, 'The Concept of Anti-Semitism in Historical Scholarship of Amos
Funkestein', Jewish Social Studies, New York, Fall 1999.

separation, a kind of voluntary 'de-assimilation'* of these Jews so
eager to integrate into their homeland, to which they are mostly devoted
apart from absolute love, never reached, in the 19th century, despite
the violence of the writings of some and others, of such widespread prejudices
widespread, a level similar to that which is revealed at this
era in French society. In Germany, this anti-Semitism
targets the 'invisible community' with its own 'subculture'
(David Sorkin) that Jews still form together within
civil society, their emancipation in the public sphere being
always held back." Political antisemitism reaches further, at
On the contrary, its peak was in France, where the aim was not to attack
a minority that remained visible despite its assimilation, but
It is good to question the very foundations of the State itself which
is responsible for this, as Peter Pulzer rightly points out.

At the time of the Dreyfus affair, French anti-Semitism had reached
a degree of intensity so high that nothing similar can be found
in Germany before 1933.

The historiography of the antisemitic question has changed profoundly
since Robert Byrnes, in his great book Antisemitism in Modern
France could still consider the Dreyfus affair only as
one of the most 'glorious' moments in French history during
which 'not only did thousands of French people rise up to
defend the captain but, moreover, they won." If it is difficult to
to follow Zeev Sternhell completely as he moves forward, unlike
France, during this turbulent end of the century, invented fascism, one
must nevertheless emphasize the genuine mass mobilization against
Semitic which then occurs before, later, thousands of drey-
The Fusiliers finally rise up; one can then ask whether anti-Semitism
politics as a form of refusal of the political emancipation of Jews,
this populist synthesis, simultaneously Catholic and popular, which
is expressed through an unprecedented mobilization of the masses

4 We are using here the expression from Shulamit Volkov in his article 'The Dynarnics'
of Dissimilation', in J. Reinharz and W. Schatzberg eds, The Jewish Response to
German Culture, op. cit.

5 See David Sorkin, 'The Invisible Community', in J. Reinharz and W. Schatzberg,
eds., The Jeursh Response to German Culture, op. cit.

$ Peter Rulzer, Jews and the German State, Blackwell, Oxford, 1995, p. 14.

7 Robert Byrnes, Antisemitism in Modern France, Rutgers University Press, New
JesmES nt L pe

It did not, in fact, emerge any more in France in the 19th century than in
Germany or elsewhere. Therefore, the German path would be misleading.
it would erase the essential variables such as the state's size and the
mode of emancipation.® By going 'out of the Ghetto', to use
Jacob Katz's expression, "The Jews enter France immediately,"
in the City while they remain outside it in Germany, repelled-
seized that they are in civil society alone. The privilege granted to
Germany in Jewish historiography, which, for example, promotes a
Arthur Ruppin believes that anti-Semitism is 'a movement that
"questions the political and social rights of Jews" finding
Its origin in Germany, in the decree of 1869, is therefore based on
a lack of comparative perspective."

If modern antisemitism stems from a refusal of emancipation, then
Logically, it takes off more easily in a French society.
who was the first to fully emancipate the Jews, in
giving them immediate full access to citizenship: that's good
because France was building itself at that moment in its history on-
just like a political community, this emancipation
reveals itself so completely; on the contrary, Germany, which constructs more
a cultural community, especially in the 19th century, shows itself to be more
reluctant to emancipate the Jews presumed to follow, with possible help-
ment of the conversion, the only Germanic bildung. The state at the fran-
The straitjacket that separates the political from the cultural is therefore logically the
first to transform Jews into citizens with full access to
political rights, having access to all public functions while
able to retain, within the private sphere, their own beliefs
These, their own culture. From then on, this emancipatory face model
The dark side of French society is logically complemented by its dark side: well
more so than in Germany where political emancipation, just like the State.
an unfinished and fragile remnant, in France, of extreme emancipation
perhaps this reflects an extreme rejection that culminates in the 19th century.
with the Dreyfus affair.

It remains to be seen, therefore, why, later on, the
the most tragic consequences of this political anti-Semitism
surrounded by a Hhtler who, from his youth, intends to do everything to
destroy the state of Prussian officials, produced in Germany

∗ Pierre Birnbaum, and Ira Katznelson, Paths of emancipation. Jews. State and citizens-
hip, Princeton University Press, Princeton, IS
∗ Arthur Ruppin, The Jews Ta Bell, London, 1913, p. 198.

and not in France, it remains to be seen what factors, in France, and
no, in Germany, they were able to effectively limit the anti- reaction
radical Semitic by managing to oppose it with equal force.
The 'Jewish Republic' of Weimar, swept away by Nazism, is indeed
that the pale copy of the true 'Jewish Republic' which is putting itself in
triumphantly placed under the Third Republic, in
the direct line of the exceptional feat that was emancipation
in 1791, a Republic confronted with collective anti-
large-scale mite, but which she manages to control for her part-
to effectively, whereas its Germanic sister, in the following century,
collapses immediately and plunges into horror. The comparison remains
enigmatic in many respects and requires some semblance of explanation.
tion: after all, French-style antisemitism, logically the most
radical if Pon accepts the general hypothesis followed here does not entail for-
so almost never a man died: apart from the situation par-
the Algerian war zone where several deadly pogroms broke out, if one
forget the time of the Crusades and the troubles of the Middle Ages which pre-
give way to the victorious establishment of the nation-state, anti-Semitism, for
brutal as it was, even up to the height of the Affair, did not
never results in the death of a single Jew. The anti-Semitist rhetoric
Mite is displaying an unprecedented boundless imagination, the
Calls for violence are commonplace there, and caricatures are widely circulated.
through a rapidly expanding press, encourage physical action vio-
Slow. In vain. If Belgian, Polish, or Italian workers know-
at that time, they felt a tragic fate linked to the xenophobic climate, the
Jews, for their part, passed through this period almost unscathed, where
However, an antisemitism is invented which will later, in other
In this context, the collective consequences are far more tragic. It's
to say that one cannot blindly follow the brilliant pro-
posed by David Biale, according to which Jewish history unfolds all the more
more peacefully than the Jews remain away from power at
within the nation-state: in the French case, to have access to the state, to be
Those close to power protect them, at least as long as the state remains loyal.
to himself, all the more so since, on his own, apart from the trauma-
defeatism, it is never, in the words of David Biale,
'gone mad' like in Nazi Germany."

10 Pierre Birnbaum, 'The Jewish Republic': A political myth, Fayard, Paris, 1988.
11 David Biale, Power and powerlessness in Jewish History, Schoken Books, New York,
198%; p. 208:

It is this paradox that needs to be clarified by first putting forward a
Hypothesis: all the way to Vichy, which in reality symbolizes the collapse of
the French state, which became the instrument of the counter-revolution and
The Nazis, having thus abandoned their own logic, the Jews of
France, confronted with virulent anti-Semitism, has never suffered from

Saint-Barthélemy, of physical destruction carried out by the public forces
State matters: few in number in France at the turn of the 19th century
(they numbered around 40,000 during the French Revolution), their pre-
sence gives rise to symbolic debates regarding the meaning of eman-
In this context, it poses no threat whatsoever to the State as a collective force.
particular, likely to oppose, possibly the weapons to the
main, to the unitary will of the nation-state. In the 16th century, the pro-
organized testators in their strongholds just as in the 19th century, and
The people of Paris, behind their Commune, see the
the destructive power of the state, not that of angry mobs: the
The massacres that followed were commensurate with the ambitions of a state
to establish itself as the architect of a public space devoid of
any form of collective religious or social identity that can serve
of a place of self-organization. If, for its part, the 'Jewish question' sustained-
From the Enlightenment to the Dreyfus Affair, so many writings and statements have been ma
discourse surrounding the emancipation/antisemitism dichotomy, if its visibility
This stems from the fact that it alone poses the question of the Other in a
a public space for citizens constituted, it is true, within a society
of shared Catholic culture, it never provokes on the part
of a state which now controls, much more than in Germany, the exercise-
citing legitimate violence, measures of collective repression: good
On the contrary, the State proved capable, from the very days following the
French Revolution during which anti-Semitic riots broke out
in Alsace, up until the Dreyfus affair, to control hostile crowds
towards the Jews and who threaten them in their physical entirety.
French antisemitism finds its true originality here: it
expresses more the cultural prejudices of large segments of the
Civil society shocked by the dismantling of a state that opens its arms
to Jews as citizens and pledges to protect them in the
to the extent that they respect this contract which makes them disappear, just like
the others, as a specific group.

In truth, the facts are not so simple. Between 1791 and the
the quintessential antisemitic moment of 1898, a period
This century-long process has proven indispensable for the cho-
These things settle, so that this relationship becomes clear: it is

the definitive triumph of the Republic which establishes it in all its
obvious. During this interim period, good luck to anyone who sees
to give rise to any kind of French-style antisemitism. The prejudices of
rationalist philosophers hostile to Christianity and therefore to Judaism
are still being heard, as is, conversely, anti-Semitism
reactionary Catholic in the vein of a Joseph de Maistre; these
classic forms of antisemitism receive reinforcement from all sides
opponents of the reign of money who, as Edmund showed
Silberner, from Leroux to Fourier and Proudhon up to Toussenel, to
in the name of the socialist utopia, they attack Jewish merchants, reactionary
again stemming from old beliefs hostile to Jews considered

As if attracted by money and usury, this socializing current finds itself...
almost legitimized by Marx's *The Jewish Question*, written precisely
in Paris. This economic antisemitism is emerging in a...
particularly vivid in Alsace where, from the days following Emancipation-
The resentment against Jews, accused of the 1950s, was growing.
the wear and tear by the peasants primarily expresses their own incomprehension
sion before the laws of the market and frequently leads to violence
violence that erupted, for example, in 1819, echoing the pogroms
Germans Hep! Hep!,® in Mulhouse or Ribeauvillé then in 1823,
in 1824, during the Revolution of 1830, in 1832 and especially-
rament during the Revolution of 1848, in Saverne or Durmenach,
locality where 75 Jewish houses were destroyed: each time, the mani-
Celebrants shout anti-Semitic slogans in the streets, attacking
to Jewish property etc., the violence being however limited by the inter-
Prevention by law enforcement agencies that prevent the worst; fear reigns.
There are fears of massacres, but ultimately, physical violence
remains more than limited." The time of the Restoration, of the
July Monarchy or even that of the Second Empire, or which-
Court Jews, whether they remained Jewish or converted, parade at Court and
maintain, for a brief time, a visible intimacy with the powerful
comparable health benefits to those enjoyed in a more sustainable way
The German court Jews represent many privileged moments where
express themselves freely, in pamphlets as well as in various writings and

2 See Eleanor Sterling, 'Antijewish Riots in Germany in 1819, Histona fudaica,
12441050 I
5 Paula Hyman, The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace. Acculturation and Tradition in
the Nineteenth Century, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1991, p. 24 et seq.

discourse, a long-standing, deep-rooted economic antisemitism
deeply rooted throughout history in the fantasies of European nations
nes: as elsewhere, the power of the Rothschilds, the Foulds are denounced
or Pereire, exactly as in Germany they attack
A Bleichroder. Nothing particularly new then, nothing more, of
specific to a distinctly French route.

The situation is different with political antisemitism, which, for good reason,
fails to establish itself in the same way in Germany
neighbor. Its triumph takes time, even in France, because, for
To be emancipated and have access to public space, the Jews seem
to have difficulty, despite the law being favorable to them, in climbing
the paths of the State and to achieve the visibility that exposes them in
a return to political antisemitism. If several of them become-
mayors of more or less important cities, if they enter
Whether at École Normale Supérieure or Polytechnique, their upward mobility is without
no doubt held back by the prejudices of the society that everyone respects
days a state too susceptible to reactionary ideas. Under the Monarchy

of July, during the events of 1848 in which Adolphe
Crémieux, the archetypal figure of the state Jews who will also be brief-
vement, at the end of 1870, in charge of the government, becomes
already Minister of Justice alongside Michel Goudchaux, Vice-
president of the central Consistory appointed minister of finance and
even more so during the Second Empire, their 'promotion' is
on the contrary, brilliant: many of them become deputies, ministers
very and reach the highest levels of senior management
public without converting: Thus, Gustave Bedarridès testifies to
He alone was responsible for their resounding success within the State when he was appoint
in 1865, to one of the highest positions in the Court of Cassation,
other Jews succeeded him in this particularly prestigious position of
the judicial order, while he presents himself like other state Jews
particularly active within the Consistory or the Alliance
universal Israelite. Isn't it, therefore, because they thus have access
to the highest positions in the State while remaining themselves
that French Jews do not organize themselves into vast organizations
collective actions, as in Germany, to defend society.

David Cohen, The Promotion of Women in France during the Second Empire, Honoré
Champion, Paris, 1980.

their own identity, preferring, in France, to delegate this role to the State
himself?

Without going into the history of these state Jews, who all gained access to...
more days and without converting to the highest levels of the State with
the advent of the Third Republic where they replaced, alongside the
Protestants, a number of Catholics who are distancing themselves from the institution
Republican, let us simply mention in a few words the fate of these
dozens of prefects and sub-prefects, hundreds of judges,
these hundreds of captains, colonels, and generals, of all these
senior civil servants who are members of the Council of State, of all these names
Many members of parliament, senators, and ministers are crowding to meet the
political and administrative scene and frequently occupy a role
central to extreme visibility during the drafting of fundamental laws
mentalities of the Republic concerning secularism, administrative reform
administrative or educational, etc. These 'republican fanatics' are literally
at the heart of the Franco-French wars, their presence during the
major public debates cannot go unnoticed; their role during the
major crises that shook the Republic, such as Boulangism,
It's obvious to everyone. With their Protestant friends, !® these state Jews
They are the true light cavalry of the Republic; they have the entire
Gambetta, Jules Ferry, and Clemenceau trusted him, and he did not hesitate to
do not tend to highlight them, conferring, for example, without presenting them
to consider the consequences, without imagining any backlash,
a crucial place within the political staff of Joseph Reinach

or again, to Camille Dreyfus, rushing the prefects Isaie Levaillant
or Abraham Schrameck in the front ranks of the violent fight against
the leagues and the factious groups hostile to the Republic.

This strong presence, unique in history, can be explained quite simply-
fully by the meritocratic logic of the republican state which has been able to
to separate from the Church. Nowhere in the world, whether in the
Anglo-Saxon democracies, such as Great Britain or the States
United, both led by a closed Protestant Establishment
to the Jews, in pre-Weimar Germany or to forton in Russia
or elsewhere, with the possible exception of Italy, where the state shaped by

5 Pierre Birnbaum, The Madmen of the Republic. History of the State Laws from Gambetta to
Vichy, Le Seuil, Point, Paris, 1994.

6 See the recent works of Patrick Cabanel, 'Le judéo-protestantisme sous la
'Third Republic', in Les Cahiers du Fudaisme, Paris, 2001, No. 9.

Piedmont is trying to import French logic; the Jews do not exercise
similar positions of excellence within the state. It is understandable.
From then on, the force of purely political antisemitism that would be
day again, in a similar context, during the Republic of
Weimar! In France, political anti-Semitism seems to be overwhelming the
traditional forms of religious, economic, and fantastical antisemitism
issues which, suddenly, seem relegated to the background: in
In the press, pamphlets, or political speeches, Jews are less
frequently portrayed as dangerous loan sharks or even
Wandering Jews, like the manipulators of a republican state
through which they impose their merciless yoke on the French people;
The French Revolution would result from their own strategy because it
This would allow them, under the guise of meritocracy, to seize control of the levers of p
of power. For Drumont, 'the Jews have managed to control all
the mechanisms of the State' and 'France, thanks to the principles of 89 habi-
exploited by the Jews, falls into dissolution', 'the Jew function-
naire has invaded everything;'"* Similarly, Barrès expresses things most
clearly the world when he declares outright: 'the anti-Protestant-
Antisemitism, or anti-Semitism, is a protest against the accession of
foreign to the burdens of the State'! explicitly questioning-
tion the emancipation of 1791, French nationality and full
citizenship of French Jews guilty of monopolizing a state
now cut off from the Christian identity of the social body. Like the
Louis Vial, one of the leading figures of political anti-Semitism, further declares:

No more Jews in the administration! No more Jews in the ministries!
more Jews in the judiciary, more Jews in public education
than, to the War, to the Fine Arts, to the Bridges and Roads! More than

Jews at Polytechnique or Saint Cyr! No more Jews at the Council of State!
No more Jews in the Councils of the Nation! from the last council of the
Last town before the Palais-Bourbon and the Luxembourg Palace!?!

In the eyes of spokespeople for political antisemitism, it is therefore
The state must be Judenrien, emptied of its Jews. Vichy will not forget.

7 Peter Pulzer, The Rise of Political Antisemitism in Germany and Austria, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1988. See also, more recently, Rose, Paul, Revolutionary Anti-Semitism in Germany. From Kant to Wagner, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1990.

Edouard Drumont, The Last Battle. Dentu, 1890, p. 80.

® Maurice Barrès, Scenes and Doctrines of Nationalism, Plon, Paris#1925, ti: p 4113.

% L. Vial, The King was. How to dethrone him. Paris, 1899, p. 87:

the message that will be immediately implemented by the two statutes of
Jews, a specifically French policy as the culmination of a
hostility towards the revolutionary and then republican state, which was too open
to its Jewish citizens, from a state considered too distant by
consequent to French Catholic society, of a purely
'legal', to speak like Maurras who, from the Affair to Vichy, will not have
constantly fighting this differentiation in the name of the 'real' country
to overcome it.

Meanwhile, at least from that perspective, the Dreyfus affair has
This is the first repetition of this scenario. Without dwelling on it, it is
That is precisely the central question. It is about ensuring that a capital-
Taine, a Jewish polytechnician, could no longer have access to the general staff of
the army, to the sphere of decision-making: as a Jew, as a 'foreigner', he
can only betray, just like the Jewish colonels and generals, the
prefects and state councillors who are preparing each other
triumph of the German enemy by lending a hand to their core-
Legionnaires from across the Rhine. The example of Sub-Prefect Isaac de Fourmies,
accused by Drumont of firing on the workers to try
the new Lebel rifles in order to inform his German superiors of
Their performance alone is emblematic. The wave of antisemitism
which befell the Jews of France in 1898 resulted explicitly from
this distinctly political anti-Semitism that constantly hammers away at
The same message, conveyed through widely distributed provincial press.
Posters, leaflets: not a single Jew left in the state, not even from the highest levels.
down to the smallest municipal council. This political antisemitism is not
in no way comparable to the Russian pogroms or the rejection of Jews in
Germany at the time, which, apart from the conversion, did not all-

days without access to the State: it is a reaction to the French state logic-
French. By its intensity, it affects all the Jews of France, including the
Most, however, continue to work in small commercial professions.
industrial or artisanal businesses far from the state. All are affected by the denunciatio
the attribution of the Jewish presence within the public sphere concerns them
By extension. This 'anti-Semitic moment' is affecting almost the whole of France.
Paris, as well as large and medium-sized cities and
even the most remote countryside, then blending into the cha-
traditional rivaris. The map of anti-Semitic mobilizations is real-
impressive. In some large cities, crowds of
tens of thousands of people take part; elsewhere,
It's a thousand, or five hundred, or two hundred people who are launching,
As in big cities, always the same slogans, 'Long live

'The Army, Down with Dreyfus, Death to the Jews, France for the French',
proclaiming throughout the streets of France that the Jews do not
cannot be French, that the political community must rede-
to become a cultural community. Germany during this period did not have
Never known anything like it. The homeland of human rights
seems to have gone mad. Numerous and well-organized armed leagues
organized in a quasi-military fashion, they bring together tens of thousands
of members ready to fight and pushing for mobilization.
At that time, France invented collective action, the mobilization of
masses.

It is incomprehensible that a historian like Charles Tilly does not
does not mention this mass anti-Semitic uprising in his classic work
musical France contests where he analyzes the transformations of the repertoires
res of political action in modern France; it is that he does not study
that the action of the popular masses confronted with demands
economic and social events, thereby neglecting them
properly political, which obey a distinct political logic."
Similarly, he considers the state only as a place for exercise
of the constraints that workers are subjected to or that they try to escape
to make oneself heard without seeing that, faced with this anti-Semitic moment, it is beau
and indeed the reaction of the State which intends to remain faithful to its logic-
that proper in defending public order and therefore, in taking up the defense
of all its citizens, regardless of their religion or beliefs,
which prompts him to forcefully deploy the armed forces on
throughout the national territory in order to protect its Jewish citizens: the for-
These law enforcement officers, the gendarmerie, the police, the soldiers are mobilized
thousands of people were called in to help them; many gendarmes
and police officers were even severely injured while defending
merchants or Jewish passersby. Everywhere, tirelessly, until
Exhaustion, the police patrol, charge, disperse, and grid the territory.
Rain protects religious buildings. Even if only as individuals.
Some police officers share the anti-Semitic values of the protesters.
As police officers bound by the strict exercise of their role, they put

all energy is put into protecting Jewish citizens, which sometimes they personally detest" Here again, the French approach is exceptional

Charles Tilly, La France conteste, Fayard, Paris, 1986.
© Pierre Birmbaum, The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898, Fayard, Paris, 1998. See also, 'The police between republican order and prejudice at the turn of the

arbor, as well as the officials responsible for maintaining order obey the sole logic of a strong state that even seem to desert- to the political elites, who are nonetheless republican and more attentive to the rising prejudices of civil society, while in Germany, facing to violence initially of the same nature, the police of a State Decentralized and less institutionalized systems will be more receptive to these values from which nothing, or almost nothing, separates them. In France, it is only- later, when the State no longer serves as the ultimate bulwark, when, under the weight of defeat, he will have for a time lost this its own logic that its servants will frequently lend a helping hand to the anti-Semitic policies of the new authorities and their values- born from this long-term political anti-Semitism.

century", in Marc-Olivier Baruch and Vincent Duclert, Servants of the State. A History French administrative policy. 1875-1945, La Découverte, Paris, 2000.

MONTAIGNE AND THE CARNIVAL OF ROME

Ilana Zinguer

Almost a tropism.

Upon reading the carnival episode in the Journal of Travel to Italy In Montaigne's work, we are struck with astonishment at a man- that surprising in the narrative. While the description became, in his Journal, an increasingly elaborate and successful exercise in style, ahead of the most spectacular event, namely the Roman carnival which attracts thousands of spectators and travelers, there is a void which is perplexing. Rome unfolds its tourist attractions before the recipient of the Journal (unspecified) as the illustrations... The traveler takes possession of the city. It should be noted that the des- The descriptions of the paintings and scenes are the result of a process common between the secretary and his master. The secretary transcribes (at the (third person) what Montaigne recounts and feels. We can- We can easily imagine that the secretary was influenced by the or-

The dictation exercise is used to arrange the text in turn. Thus, a diagram
The recurring term is adopted for these descriptions of places, customs, and events.
nements. A true anthropological study is obtained, on a
diverse population. It is the work of the learned author, certainly achieved
by a learned and expert secretary. The execution of Catena, the man
black, and circumcision among the Jews of Rome would constitute
compelling examples, among many others.

Let's quickly consider these two examples to see
the richness and picturesqueness of the composition.

On January 11, Montaigne (he) 'stopped' to contemplate the torture?
put on a show, the famous Catena 'of which he told stories of murders-
very enormous, and in particular two capuchins. The description recounts
in a very detailed manner the ceremony which is attended by nearly
of 10,000 spectators, the appearance and the way the crucifix was held, the
masked men, the monks who assist the veiled criminal
in the cart, the gallows, the condemned man, a 30-year-old black man
approximately, strangled and then cut into four pieces. Montaigne, here, remarks-
Regarding the harshness after death, what he had said elsewhere

Ÿ 2 , AQ ss
in Cruelty\ He later noted, in the same essay, that at the
death of this 'notable' thief

the people [...] followed with a plaintive voice and an exclamation, as
if everyone had lent their feelings to this carcass.

As for the circumcision scene, which he witnessed on February 8th,
The textual composition is exemplary. It begins with
general notes on the practice of circumcision, then follow-
the descriptions of the ceremony venue, the parents, the guests
tés, of the officiant, of the child to be circumcised, of his garment; come
the objects of worship and finally the surgical operation itself
meticulously followed. The lyrics and the shared singing come
In conclusion. The details reported are those of a personal experience.
woven from an intertext drawn from broader acquired knowledge
Elsewhere. Perhaps during the interview with the Jews of Verona. The
Comparisons with other forms of worship abound. Montaigne
He records in his Journal what he considers worthy of remembrance.
a studied simultaneity, the 'anthropological' discourse alternates with
recitative discourse in detailed and relatively short sentences
following the sequence of events. We have noted elsewhere that
Montaigne had not composed a work of theoretical anthropology
risk made up of details but rather an interpretive ethnography
(devoid of any judgment) where the latencies of the text function as

realities.

Thus, in the series of paintings dedicated to Rome, the Carnival
This is shaping up to be very important. It's more than a ceremony, it's
a popular, religious demonstration, prepared with som, of lon-
a date, the unfolding of which is governed by edicts of laws and
Large-scale preparations. All of Rome is preparing for it. Montaigne
and its sequel make sure to reserve seats for the first
lodges. All the travelers in the group had scheduled their arrival
veered into the city depending on the event to make the most of it-
Given its exceptional unfolding, they had all participated in
seat rental fees, as we learn from a note
From the Voyage in the edition by François Rigolot.?

Michel de Montaigne, Complete Works, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, Gallimard edition,
Paris, 1962. Cited edition. II, 11 p. 11 'that the people are more frightened by the harsh
are exerted on the mors bodies.

© Travel Journal of Michel de Montaigne, edition presented, established and annotated by

However, the much-anticipated description of this show is omitted.
Paradoxically. No masks, no costumes, no representations
theatrical performances, no animal races, no chariot races in the anti-
No carts carrying wild animals, no drills
acrobatics, shouts, fanfares, horses, games, schoolchildren, the
actors, cavalcades, etc. All of this was, however, described abundantly-
as told by other travelers. Bouchard's Journal, which knew
a posthumous publication, written in 1631, devotes a large chapter-
tre (among the four that the work contains) to this event. This voya-
Geur, so erudite and so curious, notes down all the programs of the festival.
Evenings included. We didn't ask for so much from Montaigne.
but we are surprised that only fifteen are dedicated
lines to represent a highly striking painting such as the
Carnival of Rome. Let's listen to what the secretary wrote:

On the 8th and again on the 12th he had a bout of colic and made stones
without much pain.

The Lenten season that took place in Rome that year was more
licentious, by the Pope's permission, which he had not been for several years
previously. Yet we thought it wasn't much.
Along the Cours, which is a long street in Rome, which has its name
For this, they make four or five children run around at a time, sometimes...
Sometimes Jews, sometimes naked old men, from one end of the street to the other.
You get no pleasure from it other than seeing them pass by the place or

You are. They make horses out of them, on which there are little ones
children who chase them away with whips, and donkeys and buffaloes
driven to all ends by the goads of horsemen. At every court-
There is a price offered which they call el palo (palio): these are

François Rigolot, PUF, Paris 1992, cited edition, p. 104, note 59. Study: Around the
Montaigne's Travel Journal (1580-1980), edited by F. Moureau and R. Bernoulli,
ed. Slatkine, Geneva, 1982. See the article 'Montaigne's attitude towards the Reformation'
and the Reformed in the Travel Journal, pp. 37-54. Garavini, Fausta, Jhneran a
Montaigne. Itineraries to Montaigne: text games. Champion, Paris, 1995.

3 JJ Bouchard, Works of J. Bouchard, The Carnival in Rome (1632); G. Giappichelli,
editione, Turin, 1981. (Bouchard's Journal was discovered after 1850.) See for
the offenses and bullying of Carnival: Julio Carlo Baroja, Le Camaval (1965), Gallimard,
Paris, 1979, p. 89. See also 'Documents taken from the Cardinal's papers'
Sirleto and some other Vatican manuscripts on the Jews of the States
pontificaux' in Revue des Etudes Juives, July 1884. Compare with 'the dimma' in
North Africa, a series of bullying and humiliations because metaphysically
The Jew is inferior: step off the sidewalk, not carry weapons, ride a donkey
and not a horse, etc. ... a coexistence of strict inequality until the 19th century,
without expulsion or major disaster. See Jacques Taïeb, Jewish Society in the Maghreb
1500-1900.

Fu ILANA ZINGUER

Pieces of velvet or cloth. The gentlemen, in a certain place
from the street where the ladies have more sight, run on beautiful hair
They are worth quintains, and they have good grace there: for there is nothing but this
nobility knows so well commonly that the exercises of che-
Val. The scaffold that Monsieur de Montaigne had made cost them three
escus. He was also sitting in a very nice spot on the street.

Rodocanachi in his well-documented study which has become a reference on
the question of relations between the Jews and the Holy See,* is astonished
to read the serene indifference of the great moralist in the face of this spec-
tackle considered 'petty annoyances invented by the narrow mind of
a few zealots and which was very eagerly exploited by a Bru- populace
tale and disorderly'? The historian reports that papal power maintains-
held one of the harshest forms of subjugation that the Jews had to endure
and one of the most likely to expose them to the outrages of the crowd: the courtyards
his. The people took pleasure in it. The race of the Jews was never
suppressed while those of other outcasts were suppressed, it became-
It was born ridiculous, grotesque. The original track was long from the San Arc
Lorenzo at San Marco, nearly 800 meters, it was lengthened by the
continued. To tire them out even more, a hearty meal was served to them.
They had previously served the race; they had to wear a strange coat,
of white fabric, which was considerably shortened, and replaced by
rags; later, it is true, it was removed entirely. The cou-

Jewish fighters were forced to wrestle naked in the middle of the crowd, rani-
They were beaten with stones and sticks. The galloping soldiers pushed them on.
much to the delight of the Romans. This lasted until 1668.

This is how the sequential gap in the narrative is resolved.
de Montaigne raises questions among critics
that we would like to raise before you. Some of these questions-
these ideas were taken up by Elizabeth Mendes Da Costa in her
article 'The Jews and Montaigne's Travel Journal' The anti-climate
The politico-religious Jewish of the time would have forced our traveler to be
forgetful or unaware of his ancestors. However, this does not exclude
a certain affinity that did not go unnoticed in the Journal. Lunel'

* Rodocanachi, 'The ghetto in Rome', Revue d'Études Fuives, 22 (1891).

* Rodocanachi, The Holy See and the Fuifs, p. 192.

* Elizabeth Mendes Da'Costa, 'The Jews and Montaigne's Journal de Voyage, in
French Studies Bulletin To Quarterly Supplement England, 1998, Winter 69, pp. 10-13.

7 A. Lunel, 'Montaigne and the Jews', Bulletin of the Society of Friends of Montaigne, 19,
1956, pp. 40-49.

suggests that Montaigne takes advantage of his anonymity (relative) to the foreigner
to better observe the Jews without constraints. In each of the
In the cities visited, the traveler becomes aware of religious customs.
his, from all institutions. He also shows great curiosity
He was familiar with the Jewish rites. He was also aware of the restrictions on
the converts.

Let us recall that in Bordeaux the new Christians, although in secur-
They were suspicious. Pierre de L'Ancre, advisor to the King in Bordeaux,
wrote in 1622 that Montaigne's maternal family, the Louppes
and their story was known to their contemporaries. It is to be assumed
that Montaigne could conduct his investigation more freely in Italy, he
However, this does not make it an unlimited report; on the contrary. The express-
The sion, formed of blanks and gaps, conceals the inability to speak.
of emotions.

To avoid any suspicion, Montaigne would have been forced to mask-
that he showed no interest in the Jews, even in front of his secretary. He-
He was not present at the Verona meeting. On that occasion
Montaigne gathers a great deal of information about life and rituals
Jews whom he dictates for the drafting of the text on circumcision.
The customs incident where his books were confiscated put Montaigne
on his guard. It's lucky he didn't take any in- books
forbidden. His Journal could have been examined. Thus the presence of

people from his entourage, and especially his secretary, would have prevented
Montaigne to provide a full report of his interviews with the
Jews. He is not free because, on the one hand, of the surveillance of
the Inquisition and on the other hand, he doesn't feel free enough with people
from his entourage. Moreover, he was not travelling incognito.

Indeed, his conduct in Rome, as reported, is
curious. It would seem that a man who has shown a certain interest-
dedicated to the Jewish community and respectful of all people
Ples should have expressed revulsion at the mistreatment
Jews. He doesn't talk about the conditions in the Rome ghetto where he
went to witness the circumcision (Rodocanachi gives one of the-
(sad description). Faced with the humiliating race known elsewhere in

8 On studies about Jews in Italy during the Renaissance: Robert Bonfil,
The Jews of Italy during the Renaissance, L'Harmattan, Paris, 1995; Rosala la Franca,
Architettura judaica in Italia: ebraismo, site, memona dei luoghim, Palermo, Flaccovio, ed
1994; Gi Ébrei a Verona, presenza ed esclusione, testi di Agata La Terza, Verona, Cierre,

Montaigne remains silent on the accounts of other travelers. Yet we
We know his aversion to cruelty. His disapproval of man-
that. The secretary writes: 'we nevertheless found that it was not
'Not much'. Critics are protesting this lack of revolt.
even though Montaigne leaves the show for an unknown reason.
But this unstated reason in the text needs to be addressed. We cannot believe
to an eclipse of barbarity that very year under Gregory XII.
Rodocanachi quotes a chronicler from the year 1583, so two years ago.
after Montaigne's visit; this traveler rejoiced at
sufferings of the Jews 'the Jews were favored with a wind, a rain
and with a coldness worthy of this treacherous people," and the secretary himself
speaks of a Lent more violent than in other years, 'more licentious'
that it had not been several years before'.

Bouchard, 50 years later, also dwells on this part of
the procession, which has become a topos:

Finally... the Jews ran all naked: they only had scar-
Pines on his feet, small linen breeches and a hat on his head.
Of the twelve who left the Plaza del Popolo, only three remained.
arrived at St. Mark's, and the one who went most beautifully to the com-
beginning, finally overtook all the others who had grown weary and
carried the palio. From there they will continue running as far as the ghetto.
to avoid getting cold, simply by putting a coat on.

Conditions improved since the Jews are not running away

naked. After 50 years, things had changed; it was permitted to wear
wearing underwear in February. The race described by others
travelers is thus summarized in the Lunel article 'an igno- form
harassment accompanied by shouting and often throwing of
stones and blows with sticks to urge on the runners.

It is therefore surprising that no trace of this unpleasant moment remains.
ble is not mentioned in the Journal. Montaigne does not avoid speaking
cruel habits. Let us recall the example of Catena previously-
cited. Thus, this omission would amount to a more revealing silence.
the author of his sympathy than would be a brief comment where he
would have expressed his disapproval, a sympathy that is clearly noticeable.
The criticisms are relentless!

1994. Kenneth R. Stow, Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593, The
Jewish Seminary of America, New York, 1977. |

* A. Lunel, Montaigne and the Jews, op. cit. p. 43.

Donald Frame, Montaigne, a life, a work 1533-1592, H. Champion, Paris,

MONTAIGNE AND THE CARNIVAL OF ROME 20

Another detail catches Elizabeth d'Acosta's attention and she is ready to
The interpretation is that this is the secretary's resignation. He was dismissed.
February 16th, while the report on the Carnival of February 12th dates
of the same day or the following day. No reason is given, it
There was no warning from either party. This resignation seems-
The private reaction to
Did the Carnival scene betray Montaigne's sympathy?
towards the Jews; would this reaction have been revealed to the secretary who
Wouldn't she have shared it? Is this a disagreement concerning Jews?
Who forced Montaigne to relieve the secretary of his duties? Even
Hypothetically, this explanation would be sufficient to signify that the
The races at least moved the spectator Montaigne. We know perfectly-
he was very well placed to see everything: 'he was sitting in a
'very nice spot on the street'.

Thus, it would be out of fear that his position would be revealed or de-
born that Montaigne kept silent about the reason for the secretary's sudden departure
as, in the same way, he was unable to express his truths-
bad feelings about Carnival. The seemingly direct link with
The Jews of Italy, however, remain problematic; it betrays a
Montaigne's implicit attitude towards Judaism in the face of the attitude
unforgivable failing of Renaissance Europe towards this
population. The gap highlighted in this account helps to understand
the full meaning of Montaigne's comments on the Jews
is capable of transmitting. Even in its shortcomings, one can hardly-
How can one expect Montaigne, a Christian, to protest against a

another form of pressure exerted in Rome on the Jewish community,
Yet he speaks of the 'renegade' rabbi who converted and preached sermons.
to an audience of 60 Jews.

The Journal was published posthumously and has been known to the public for two centuries.
After the death of its author, only the Essays could convey his thoughts.
The reaction to Roman censorship is known to us through the
additions to its first edition of 1580, the very one that was inspected
tée in Rome, and confirms some of our current hypotheses

1994 (reissue of 1965); Géralde Nakam, Montaigne's Essays, maroir and trial of
their time, historical testimony and literary creation, Nizet, Paris, 1984. G. Nakam, 'Tbé
'de Montaigne', in Montaigne and Europe, Proceedings of the International Colloquium of Bo
1992, Inter-University Publishing, September 1992.

Donald Frame, Montaigne, a life, a work 1533-1592, p. 26. Th. Malvezin
History of the Jews in Bordeaux, Bordeaux, 1875. Paul Courteault, “Montaigne's Mother”
in Mélanges à Paul Laumonnier, Droz, Geneva, 1935, pp. 305-307.

on the subject at hand. Malcolm Smith in Aontaigne and the
Roman Censors,? explores the intellectual encounter between the philosopher and
Roman censors of the Catholic Church. He studies, on the one hand, the
reactions of the censors towards the 1580 edition of the Essays, and other
apart from the additions to the book made after the verdict.

Montaigne was in Italy just after the publication of his
essays (first edition) in November 1580. Upon his entry into Rome,
a copy is taken from him at customs (along with other books) for inspection
tion by the Inquisition. He is subject to a usual procedure: pre-
the importation of heretical books into Rome. In the weeks
In the events that followed, the copy of the Essays was read by the censors. It must be sa
that the French ecclesiastical censorship (the Archbishop of Bordeaux)
had given its permission for their publication. The Inquisition
Roman law was more meticulous because objections concerned the material
which had not alerted the French. In March 1581, two theologians
They raise objections to the Essays. Montaigne was invited to them.
comment, which he did, the objections were withdrawn and his self-book
Montaigne, however, continued to reflect on it, seeking to concise-
to link intellectual freedom to the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.
He makes no reference to the Inquisition nor does he want to show himself
like someone who argues with the verdict of his censors. But cha-
that addition is inspired by the remarks of the censors. Sometimes
Montaigne's subject constitutes so clearly and so precisely a
In response to an objection, he inserts it in the very place indicated by the
censors or in appropriate contexts.

One might wonder what the reasons for P's interest were.

The Inquisition was launched for Montaigne's book. They were primarily seeking,
They made references to religion. They encountered only skepticism.
bold as an argument against the Reformed and echoes on
the lessons of the Council of Trent. (Among the seven objections in total),
they found that his reservations, thus expressed 'more than dan-
to eat a living man than to eat him, mors' were sub-
versives, for which he was blamed!

? Malcolm Smith, Montaigne and the Roman Censors, Droz, Geneva, 1981. Malcolm Smith, Montaigne and Religious Freedom, Droz, Geneva, 1991.

© Studied by Mr. Smith, the seven objections were commented on by Montaigne on the spot and 'corrected' afterwards, that is to say, amplified. See also O. Lopez Fanego, 'Some clarifications on Montaigne and the Spanish Inquisition', in Montaigne and the Essays, studies by F. Moureau, C. Blum, P. Michel, Champion-Slatkine, Panis,

Montaigne later chose to expand on this question through a narrative
dramatic plight of the Jews of Spain, 'banished, sold', by the Kings of
Casulle. The essay (1,14) 'That the taste of good and evil depends
a good part of the opinion we have of it includes additions
tions relating to our theme. It is almost three times larger
in 1592 that during its reading by the censors, he studied the subject-
activity having a major impact on human life. All the
additions do not concern the expelled but those related to them.
tent expresses its profound revolt against the indictment of
Portuguese sovereigns. 'The taste of evils' attributed to the Jews does not depend
not their opinion but solely the whim of Portuguese politicians.
The story shows the impossible impasse that left no choice;
They had to choose between exile and slavery or suicide. Even conversion
They remained suspect. According to Géralde Nakam, 'the Marrano route'
is the one that remains suggested by the author'. That Montaigne 'be himself-
even or not a Marrano, of Catholic custom and of Jewish opinion-
that, with a twofold fidelity to the Church and to ancestral faith, that he
whether or not simply descended from conversos through the Lopez'.
It is worth remembering that he and his father had connections in those circles
New Christians of Bordeaux. Montaigne was the godfather of one
Marrano child, Michel Dacosta.

Besides this ancestry, Montaigne, a former student of mar- masters
Ranes of the Collège de Guyenne, mayor of Bordeaux, a refuge city of
many new Christians, seeks to meet Italian Jews;
He has a Jewish doctor, Guillaume Félix, and he feels concerned about their
sort. During the period of resurgence of Judeophobia of the
at the end of the century, he brings the addition of 1595 (1,14) attacking the expulsion-
the sion of the Jews of Spain. Malcolm Smith suggests that the origin of this
His new eloquence and sensitivity rest on his grasp of
awareness that three members of his mother's family, Lopez de

Villanueva, perished at the stake in the 15th century. These additions suggest

1983. The date of July 17, 1555, a turning point in the history of Jewish-papal. Paul [V (GP Carafa), elected by papal bull, renews the restrictions for life in the ghetto, sale of properties to Christians, limited commercial activity with the Christians, selling secondhand clothes. This lasted 300 years. Paul IV thus thought he cou a barrier between Jews and Catholics.

4 G. Nakam, Les Essais de Montaigne, miroir et procès de leur temps, pp. 367-369 and p. 373 There are few voices sympathetic to Judaism. But also Henri Mauroy (see note 94) Post, Jean Bodin in the Republic and the Heptaplomeres, Loisel who defends the rights of Jews before the law.

Montaigne also sees an analogy between these events and contemporary France (50 Albigensians had preferred to let themselves (to burn rather than to abjure) and perhaps to this prohibition of Parliament of Bordeaux in 1574, to molest the Jews.

In the opinion of all critics, Montaigne demonstrates a certain It took courage to talk about this subject (he could have been worried by this). that De Pancre had written about him in /Incredulity and Misbelief of the Sor-tilège. Montaigne was Spanish, that is to say, Jewish. I show beautiful-a humanist gesture of interest by expressing his disapproval of a an era when such an attitude was not appropriate for anti-Semitism contemporary, made of ignorance and hatred. No other French text does not show this revolt expressed through a severe look at The injustice inflicted upon Jews through forced conversion. The source Spanish Bishop Osorio, provided him with many details about the expulsion measures, the chronology of events, the rape of the cons-sciences, the suspicion of converts, but at the same time Montaigne dares to contradict the historian on the problem of the conversion of the Jews."

At this time when the nation is emerging from a nominal religious unity towards religious pluralism, freedom and tolerance are not a academic problem; in a region where the Jewish religion had not that a precarious freedom, his opposition to sectarianism (II, 12 end of His appearance earned him the Bastille. He declared his sympathy for the Jews. or their culture was not without danger if we remember that Reuchlin was harshly persecuted for opposing the destruction of the Talmud. The new thinkers did not fail to show their suspicions. cion: Erasmus believed that Spain was too 'Judaized', Calvin, without to oppose the Jews, finds their law 'childish' and themselves 'darkened' by Satan. At the end of the century, anti-Semitism was striking. Ronsard brings together old anti-Jewish themes; Du Bellay speaks of Spanish mar-ranc."" Montaigne, on the other hand, presents heroic people, victims of

Pierre de l'Ancre, The Incredulity and Misbelief of Sorcery Fully Convinced, Paris,

© Donald Frame speaks of forced conversion. Bishop Osorio, Latin historian.
De rebus Emmanuelis, regis Lusitaniae, 1574, work translated by Goulart in 1581 under
The title is *History of Portugal* (1587, 1590). Montaigne was familiar with both versions
reiterates the expulsion measures, the chronology of events, the violation of consciences,
suspicion of converts.

7” See JC Margolin’s article 'Reflections on some 'Jewish stories' in the
'Renaissance', in Freedom of Conscience or Intolerance? (16th-17th centuries), Droz, Genev
1991, pp 19126.

tribulations, their beliefs shattered, reduced to misery and to
slavery.

At the time Montaigne was writing, the Inquisition was wreaking havoc.
and causes a significant emigration of converts and Marranos into
France, provoking a phenomenon of popular phobia, therefore of
tension. Whether it was hatred for Spain or for the Jew, and the
The League and the Politicians equate the Jews with Spain, and plan
their phobias about this scapegoat. The Judeophobic remarks pro-
pagent dans les hbelles de L'Anti-Espagnol: les 'fauquins de Castille,
bastard Catholics, half-Jews and half-Moors, barely out of the
synagogue and of PAlcoran', under the pen of Pasquier (in the Jesuit-
terie 1l (there is a lot of Jewish life), Pithou (Jewish face), Charron
(a superstitious and odious race above all others), from the Anchor {the Jews our
older enemies, a crowd of sorcerers and Jews).

In 1592 (Montaigne had just died) the Society of Jesus
in turn applies the statutes of blood purity and expels the
New Christians. In 1596, in Bordeaux, the Jews were accused of
complicity with the enemy; in 1610, a list was sent to Henry IV
magistrates of the parliaments of Provence who were of Jewish origin. From L'Ancre,
pursuing sorcerers and Jews, reports in his treatise
Incredulity 'an infinite number of Jews' in the city of Bordeaux, of Bayonne,
of Saint-Jean-de-Luz. This quick, damning overview gives us
Keys to the gaps in Montaigne's text. His attitude towards
cruelty explains his inability to be present at the spectacle of
People were humiliated during the Carnival procession. The spectacle
Jews were ritually subjected to offenses permitted by the papal bulls
papal. The humiliations upset him but leave him speechless. He will have
We might say, the freedom to act more fully after the visit to Rome.
Indeed, it is easier for him to speak after receiving the Bubble of
Pope. He then allows himself this acute awareness of the injustices-
these things towards the Jews. However, he never said at any point openly-
lying about his position.

RELATED DIALOGUE: JEWS AND REMONSTRANTS TO AMSTERDAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck

The symposium that brings us together these days in Haifa is entitled /inclusion and exclusion: perceptions of Jews from the Enlightenment to the Dreyfus Affair. You me I hope you will allow us to broaden the debate somewhat further for- already so vast. And this in two different ways. On the one hand starts by arguing that between inclusion and exclusion, there still exists everything a range of other possibilities, as I will have the opportunity to explain to you later to demonstrate later. And on the other hand, by insisting that the perception of Jews in Enlightenment Europe to solid racial- born in the previous century in general, and more particularly in the Dutch golden age.

Furthermore, I would like to emphasize that Euro- historiography Contemporary European culture is undergoing profound change. Historians of the Current cultures take leave of the stories that have been conventionally called- national governments are shifting towards a more European approach. is in fact moving towards a type of cultural history that replaces the in- purely national loan or wisely comparative by an interest of continental dimension. For the topic at hand, this evolution- Historiographical analysis is very important. Because beyond the analysis- analysis of the situation of Jews in a given country, beyond the comparison between the situation of Jews in different countries, we will to then frame the problems within a much broader context, and even to formulate working hypotheses of a perhaps new. Chronological barriers and political borders are disappearing thus the absolute power that the historiography of 19th century, which will allow us to consider the evolution of phe- terms such as the perception of Jews in Europe in Modern Times in a much less formal, much freer way.

This is what I will try to show you by discussing the

1 C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, Cultuurtransmissie: een grensconflict? Nijmegen, 2000; J.Israel, De Verlichting, de Nederlanders en de toekomst van de geschiedenis, Amsterdam, 1998.

Relations between Jews and remonstrants in Amsterdam in the 17th century. Jewish and Christian historians have been fascinated by these relationships which trans- indeed, it is based on the situation in other European countries. same era? A century later, Voltaire would see in this situation- Dutch tion a prophetic announcement of tolerance of which 1l had become the champion. Amsterdam therefore appears as a place

privileged to study the beginning of an evolution in perception
Jews in Europe. It is up to us now to discover why and
how.

The Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam

I will only give a brief overview of the history of the Sephardic Jews here.
of Amsterdam.® From 1600 onwards, a small number of Portuguese Jews and
Spaniards took refuge in the Northern Netherlands. They were Chnstaos
novos, new Christians, who had been forced to convert
to Catholicism to escape the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisition
hooch. Some of them had continued to practice it in secret.
others had distanced themselves from the faith of their ancestors out of prudence.
When Spain and Portugal were united under a single and
same crown in 1580, the persecution intensified and a flood of
refugees left the Iberian Peninsula as quickly as possible to settle on
around the Mediterranean, in the colonies, in the cities of
Northern Germany and Holland. Amsterdam was not included.
More than forty Sephardic families in 1600. Twelve years
Later, in 1612, five hundred families had settled there. The most-
Part of these new Christians then rejoined the synagogue where they
instructed in Mosaic law and taught Jewish rites
with a lot of patience and great flexibility.

[In this regard, it is interesting to note that the same phenomenon-
This pattern is repeated today in the new liberal Jewish community.
Amsterdam district, Bet-a-Kiddusj, whose young members, entirely
secularized, they know nothing of the religion of their ancestors but hold-

| ∗ J. van den Berg, oden en christenen en Nederland gedurende de zeventiende ces, Kampen,
969.

∗ RG Fuks-Mansfeld, De Sefardim in Amsterdam tot 1795. Aspecten van een joodse min-
derheid in een Hollands stad, Hilversum 1989; J. Michman, H. Beem and D. Michman,
Pinkas, Geschiedenis van de joodse gemeente in Nederland, Ede etc, 1992.

return to it by imitating ritual gestures, by deciphering in writing
phonetic transcription of the Hebrew psalm verses that they do not understand
They do not know, and they sing the unknown melody, imitating it as best they can.
that they can find a slightly more experienced chazzan. They gather-
located in the premises of the former remonstrant church in Amsterdam,
now occupied by the ecumenical student community of the
city.]

The Sephardim who arrived in Amsterdam at the beginning of the 17th century

They were therefore in a very particular situation. The mentality
And Christian scholasticism was familiar to them. And it is crucial
to take this into account if one wants to understand perspicacity with
in which the Jewish sages and scholars engaged in dialogue in the Netherlands with the
Christian theologians. The experience of forced Catholicization and
the double conversion (from Judaism to Catholicism and back to
Judaism) had provided them with a highly effective arsenal of arguments
against Christianity. They did not hesitate to use this experience
to profit.

The Remonstrants

The remonstrants, on the other hand, represent the Erasmian side—therefore non-cal-
vinist —of the Dutch Reformed Church.' They are also called armi-
nians, according to their founding father Jacobus Arminius, professor of
Theology at the University of Leiden, died in 1609. For the remons-
In the meantime, a Christian is only obliged to believe in a limited number of
things necessary for faith (necessaria), while he is free to think
what he wants on subjects not necessary for the faith (non necessaria).
This leads them to reject all persecution on the grounds of faith, to
condemn all forced conversions and consider tolerance
as essential to life in society. Furthermore, the remonstrant rejections-
to abandon the dogma of predestination and replace it with conception
of the freedom that man has to reject or accept divine grace.

Current status. De geschiedenis van de remonstranten. OrvGJ Hoenderdaal
PM Luca. Zutphen 1982. On Erasmus's position regarding the Jews, see HA
Oberman, Wortels van het anti-Semitisme, Christenangst en jodenramp in het tydperk van hum
nism in reformatism, Kampen, 1983, pp. 54-57 and C. Augustijn, Erasmus, Baarn 1986,
pp. 96-98. On the position of the remonstrants, see the inaugural speech of Th. M.
van Leeuwen, Deo vivamus amici. De remonstraten en het geprek met Israel. Leiden, 1994.

The struggle between Erasmian remonstrants and Calvary counter-remonstrants
nists were extremely fierce in the first quarter of the 17th century
century. At the Synod of Dordrecht, the remonstrants were expelled from
the Dutch Reformed Church. A rather severe purge ensued.
Oldenbarnevelt was beheaded in The Hague, Hugo de Groot imprisoned
at Loevestein Castle and the remonstrant pastors forced to
leave the country. They met in Antwerp where forty-four of them-
The three of them officially founded the remonstrant church in 1619.
Repression continued until 1630, only to subside rapidly due to the
continued. So much so that in 1634, a remonstrant seminary could be founded
in Amsterdam. And it is precisely the professors of this semi-
naire, as well as other remonstrants, teaching at the Illustrious School
from the city, who formed ties with Sephardic Jews from Amsterdam.

Minionites prosecuted

These two groups therefore had several things in common: their belonging to a religious minority, their recent arrival in the city, and a conception of faith severely tested by their past experience. What's more, they found themselves immersed in the typical atmosphere of the Dutch Golden Age, where international rhymed with the need for harmony and the attraction of the unknown.

I would like to point out here that the Huguenots—another group of Christians who entered into dialogue with the Jews of Amsterdam, but towards at the end of the 18th century, they were in the same position minority group prosecuted on religious grounds. They too, by the The voices of Pierre Bayle were going to condemn any conversion by the constraint and loudly proclaim the necessity of tolerance. All It therefore happens as if the condition for an authentic dialogue, Even if it is a limited dialogue, it is nothing other than a taking of common awareness of the horror of the persecutions.

Contacts between Jews and Christians in Amsterdam

Relations had been established between Jews and Christians in Amsterdam since the early 16th century contacts that I would describe as curiosity

mutual." There had been a few exchanges on both sides without that this has too many consequences. However, following a complaint from Calvinist consistory of Amsterdam regarding a Christian couple converted to Judaism, the magistrate issued in 1616, as if against-heart, an ordinance (keur) concerning the Jews of the city. This ordinance-nance includes three specific prohibitions. It is forbidden for Jews from Amsterdam to say or write anything against religion Christian, to attempt to convert Christians to Judaism or to circumcise them and maintain carnal relations with women my Christian women, even those of loose morals. With this decree extremely succinct, the city of Amsterdam had somehow The States of Holland, who had requested some, outmaneuvered the others. years earlier to Hugo de Groot and Adriaan Pauw, because of plain-your visits from Amsterdam specifically, to draft a regulation on the Jews of Holland. Because of the conflicts between remonstrants (Hugo de Groot) and counter-remonstrants (Adriaan Pauw), the States of Holland failed to reach a decision. Finally, in 1619, the Estates General, faithful to the particularist tradition of the cities and pro-

Dutch vices, urged them to formulate their own
regulations concerning Jews, on one condition only: no Jews from the Provinces-
The United States could not be forced to wear a distinctive emblem, whatever it might be.
So be it. Since the Union of Utrecht (1578), in fact, it was forbidden to
Catholics are prohibited from wearing distinctive symbols in public.
extended this measure to Jews, but this time in order to protect them
of a dress code exclusion. The Amsterdam ordinance, issued in
both the anxiety of the consistories and the atmosphere of tolerance
specific to this city, which welcomed refugees of all kinds, was
therefore taken up by the other Dutch cities. Nothing was added to it, in
1632, that a restriction prohibiting Jews from exercising certain pro-
professions. It is therefore, needless to say, a sensitive situation-
more tolerant than in other European countries and which denotes
a much more positive perception of Jews than elsewhere. Which
sometimes gives rise to surprising phenomena such as this: the order-
The finance of the Estates-General dates, as we have said, from 1619. The same

5 DM. Swetschinski, 'Tussen middeleeuwen en Gouden Eeuw, 1516-1621', in
By Joden in Nederland. OrvJCH Blom, RG Fuks-Mansfeld, I. Schoefler, Amsterdam,

1595

that year, the remonstrants were expelled from the United Provinces or forced
to conceal themselves. We then find, in the years that followed,
complaints demonstrating the tolerance shown towards Jews,
contrasting so sharply with the intolerance of which they themselves, the Arminians,
were the subject. Their own exclusion as hetero- Christians
doxes is therefore perceived as unfair, compared to a certain inclusion-
sion of the Jews.

Purpose of the dialogue between Jews and Christians

The contacts that had been established between Jews and Christians in the 17th century
century in the United Provinces had several goals. On the one hand, the theo-
Dutch philosophers began studying with the Jews to improve their skills
their knowledge of the Hebrew language and culture and other
for their part they initiate oral or written conversations with them aimed
to persuade them of the superiority of Christianity in general and of the
Protestantism, in particular, regarding Judaism. In reality, these two
These goals all come down to one single objective: the conversion of the Jews.
to Christianity. But this must be seen within a broader framework than
that of the perception of Jews. Indeed, since the end of the 6th century.
the interest of European humanists had increasingly turned towards
the Orient, with its treasures of Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts containing

ancient texts less corrupted than those previously known
"Until then in the West." Leiden University, for example, is rooted
in the humanist tradition, had made a specialty of the acquisition
of oriental manuscripts whose study made it possible to return ad jon-
to return to the purest possible sources. But for the com-
To access these sources, the help of Arabists and Hebraists was needed.
experienced. It is therefore within a scientific framework that one must view a
part of the contacts between Jews and Christians in Holland at that time-
that. If the first book in the library of Leiden University
was Plantin's Polyglot Bible, the second major acquisition was
the Talmud of Babylon, dear to Scaliger.?

®PT. van Rooden, Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seven-
teenth Century, Leiden, 1989.

7 See C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, Magna Commoditas. Geschiedenis van de Leidse universi-
teitsbibliotheek 1575-2000, Leiden, 2001.

But we shouldn't delude ourselves. Beneath this scientific veneer lies
It was hiding, it must be repeated, a single goal: to amass as many arguments as possible.
possible ways to convert non-Christians, Jews and Muslims, to
Christianity. It was only little by little that purely philosophical interest-
The logical and historical aspects will take precedence over religious interests.

Besides the traditional reasons that Christians had for wanting
To convert the Jews, there is a particular reason to which one might have-
not being given enough importance in the context we are discussing.
The epic of Sabbetai Zvi had significant repercussions in
the Christian world. Sabbetai's messianic claim was not
not unrelated to the expectations of the Christian chiliasts. Except that for
For them, the new thousand-year kingdom could only begin after
the acceptance by all the Jewish people of the person of Jesus as
Messiah. If we take this phenomenon into account and consider
in parallel the chaotic upheavals that shook the community
Jewish community of Amsterdam around the decisive year of 1666,° it appears pro-
It is clear that the perception that Christians had of Jews and the per-
the perceptions that Jews had of Christians were influenced by the
eschatological expectations of both communities. Of each and the other
The future of humanity depended on it. Therefore, one must not see
in the sustained attempts at conversion to Christianity of which we
Let's talk now, neither in the severe attacks of Christia-
evidence of anti-ism issued by defenders of Judaism
Mitism or anti-Christianity. These are both sides of a defense
of one's own identity, essential for spiritual continuity and salvation
tuel of the own community.

Dialogues

A first dialogue began in 1608 between the Christian theologian
Hugh Broughton and the Jewish doctor David Farar. Now this Broughton
belonged to the Bruymisten movement, which are considered
precursors of the remonstrants. Ten years later, the synod of
Dordrecht will officially order theologians and profes-
university professors in the Netherlands to follow this example and to engage the

8 Y. Kaplan, From Christianity to Fudaism. The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro, Oxford
University Press, England, 1989, p. 270 ff.
% RG Fuks-Mansfeld, 0.c., pp. 110-118.

dialogue with rabbis and Jewish scholars. On both sides, there is no
He didn't need to be told twice, and the discussions multiplied. He...
is of two kinds: some, generally initiated by theologians
Hardline Calvinists, such as Voctius, are vindictive and aggressive:
The others—and these are the ones that interest us here—are engaged
by theologians or scholars who were remonstrant or close to the remonstrants
trants, such as Barlaeus, Vossius, and Van Limborch. These discussions were
characterized on both sides by a rather remarkable open-mindedness
comparable and by a freedom of expression on the Jewish side which does not leave
to astonish. Nienasseh Ben Israel, Abraham Coronel, Jacob Abendana.
Isaac Orobio de Castro and many others did not chew by
their words. So much so that some theologians from Leiden complained about it-
return to the States General and that the Mahamad of Amsterdam enjoined
to the members of the Sephardic community of the city to cease all
dialogue with Christians so as not to anger the religious authorities
gious. Nothing worked. The meetings, the conversations, the correspondence
The dances continued with even greater enthusiasm. At the end of the century, around the
In the years 1685, this mode of communication, if I may say so, between Jews
and Christians of the United Provinces, had almost become commonplace. It is
the time, it should be remembered, when 70,000 Huguenot refugees were driven out of
France, through the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, arrive in the Netherlands
from the North. Among them, many crypto-Catholics who, barely
Upon arrival, they pledge allegiance to the Reformed Church. It goes without saying that t
the formation of these Huguenots, who perceived themselves as the
remnants of the chosen people arriving in exile, before the visible presence of
The true chosen people in the streets of Amsterdam, are only equaled by the SVM-
Sephardic pathos for a group whose dramatic experience
looked so much like theirs. As Renate so aptly demonstrated
Fuks-\Mfansfeld, the mutual interest of the two communities is revealed in
conversations between Huguenot theologians and Jewish scholars as well
than in Jacques Basnage's edition of *L'Histoire et la religion des Juifs*
and in the series of engravings on the daily life of Jews by the
Huguenot engraver Bernard Picart.!°

9 GR. Fuks-Mansfeld, 6.6, pp. 176-182.

Van Limborch and Orobio de Castro

The dialogue I would like to draw attention to is none other than
the one that began in 1683 and lasted several years between the doctor
Sephardic Isaac Eurobio de Castro and the professor at the Remons- seminary
so many Amsterdam Philippus van Limborch.' Because the fallout from
These conversations are not without importance. Didn't Voltaire say:
'This may be the first dispute between two theologians in
in which no insults were exchanged: on the contrary, the two advers-
They treat each other with respect.

The other already attracts attention: De cenitate rehgonis Christianae. Amica
Collatis cum Erudits fudaes. ∗ The identity of this learned Jew will not be revealed-
publicly revealed only after the death of Orobio de Castro, by Jean
Leclerc, in his review of this work. The interview
ten. where the two people present express completely open-
their sentiment, was published in 1687 in Latin, in conjunction with
an autobiography by Uriél da Costa, containing a critique in
rule of the rabbinical authorities.® The work received an extremely warm welcome.
favorable opinion. In 1723 a Dutch translation appeared,"
to which had been added the text of a letter from Van Limborch to
his friend John Locke, dated December 2, 1694, recounting the history-
Story of a young Christian girl desiring to convert to Judaism
but Van Limborch, called in to help, had persuaded
to do nothing about it. To that end, he had started a discussion with her.
of the most heated debates in which he had used the same arguments as
in his interview with Orobio de Castro.

To fully understand the novelty in the other's vision that
represents the dialogue between Orobio de Castro and Van Limborch, it

1 PT. van Rooden and JW Wesselius, 'The Early Enlightenment and Judaism:
The "Civil Dispute' between Philippus van Limborch and Isaac Orobio de Castro",
in Studia Rosenthaliana 31, Netherlands, 1987, pp. 140-153.

2 Voltaire, 'Letter on the Jews', quoted by Th.M. van Leeuwen, Deo vivamus ami.
De remonstranten en het gesprek met Israel, Leiden, 1994.

13 Published in Latin in Gouda in 1687.

4 16896-16401

© Onderhandehmg met den Geleerden Goud Isaac Orohio de Castro. over by Waarheid van den
Chastelsken Gododunst. Nevns Uriels to Costaas Vocrheeld van '1 Menschelyk Laen: met de

aanmerkmsen danrover alsimede Kort Verhaal van eene fuffrouu, due genegen :jnde Joodsch te

wvorden, weder tot een Christelyken Godsdienst gebragt is, Amsterdam, 1723.

40 CHRISTIANE BERKVENS-STEVELINCK

It is necessary to take into account both the moment when he commits and the per-
The sonority of the two men present. At the end of the 19th century,
Cartesian philosophy is generally taught in universities
Dutch sites, even though it is still formally prohibited.
Deistic thought, Spinozism, even atheistic tendencies
the subject of lively discussions in the scholarly journals of the time.
cultural ferment, precursors of the European Enlightenment.
They excite some and frighten others. And our two characters
They are quick to react to this situation, but in a very
different.

Orobio de Castro, a Marrano who studied philosophy
and medicine in Alcalá and Salamanca, had fallen into the hands of
the Inquisition in 1656. He fled to France and then to Amsterdam in
1662, where he rejoined the synagogue, changing his Christian first name-
tien of Balthazar in Isaac Orobio de Castro. A fertile writer, he
defended Jewish tradition with fervor against all those who threatened it.
In his eyes, they were: Christians, Spinozists, atheists. His opponent,
Philippus van Limborch, on the other hand, led an uneventful life. A Cartesian,
An irenic and advocate of tolerance, he took a keen interest in history.
heterodoxies and religious persecution. It is among the Jews
He contacted Amsterdam for information during the drafting process.
of his History of Inquisition."* It was to him that John Locke dedicated
his treatise on tolerance, whose ideas would spread, initially
from the United Provinces, in the rest of Europe and will influence Voltaire.

It was therefore in a very particular atmosphere that the dia-
A bond forms between the two men, at the home of a mutual friend, in the
Orobio de Castro's request. A friendly atmosphere, at first, but
above all, an atmosphere of mutual intellectual curiosity. We don't have
There's no time to detail the four parts of the dialogue here. Others
They did it before us. But what we need to remember for our topic is
this is the shift in the argument. Much to Orobio's surprise
Van Linborch counters Castro with a new argument, yet
not used until then by Christian polemicists. And this argument-
It is based on reason and natural law, therefore it is 'the century'

“Ph. Van Limborch, Historia inquisitionis, cui subjungitur liberisentiarum inquisitio-
nis. Tholosanae ab anno 1307 ad annum 1323, Amsterdam. 1692. The following year

An abridged French version appeared: The History of the Inquisition and its Origin, Cologr

and Brussels, 1693.

JEWS AND REMONSTRANTS IN AMSTERDAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY +]

that penetrates the old medieval conflict. In other words.
no longer fights with dogmas and unwavering certainties but
we try to persuade the other person using arguments considered as
rauonnels. Of course, it is always a question of the will to convert and
of a barely concealed, hateful agenda. But in relation to the argument-
In medieval times, the difference is enormous. The perception of
the other force here is the turning point which goes from the image of the age-old enemy
to the image of an adversary to be convinced. It's a limited tolerance,
Certainly. Since we always try to convert the other, but it's the
beginning of the end of philosophical exclusion. Orobio de Castro and
Van Limborch thus formed the vanguard of a new perception
Jews. Specific to the Amsterdam milieu where Jews and
remonstrants.

THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT,
PRE-REVOLUTION

MONTESQUIEU: A PRECURSOR OF
JEWISH EMANCIPATION?

Allan Arkush

In his classic work Out of the Ghetto, Jacob Katz referred to the English thinkers John Locke and John Toland as 'early promoters of the secular basis for the state' which 'were also the forerunners of the idea of accepting the Jew into society without the expectation of his ultimate conversion.” In a somewhat later work, From Prejudice to Destruction, Katz almost added another name to this list. He mentioned the early manifestations of the idea of acceptance of the Jews 'in the works of Locke, Toland, and possibly Montesquieu”.® Why, we are entitled to wonder, did Katz at this point identify a man plausibly described as 'the most influential writer of the eighteenth century' but hesitated to count him as a full-fledged member of this group?* Unfortunately, he did not elaborate on this matter here or anywhere else in his writings. The only clue he supplied was a reference to the pages in The French Revolution and the Jews where Arthur Hertzherg discusses Montesquieu's attitude to the Jews.

Hertzberg, for his part, did not engage in a sustained effort to determine whether Montesquieu or, for that matter, anyone else was a genuine precursor of Jewish emancipation. He observed, however, that the writings of Montesquieu eventually provided the friends of

the Jews, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, with ammu-
nition to use in their counter-attack upon their Voltaire-quoting
adversaries.!' Voltaire and his disciples were 'intellectual absolutists'
who believed that the Jew needed 'to be remade in order to be part
of the new heaven', and 'were not entirely certain that he could

! Jacob Katz, Out of the Ghetto, Schocken Books, New York, 1978, p. 38.
2 From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1980, p. 45.
3 Peter Gay, The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, Norton, New York, 1969, vol. 2, 925
Professor Arthur Hertzberg, The French Enlightenment and the Jews, Columbia University Press, New York, 1968, p. 290.

enter heaven even after he was remade'. According to Hertzberg,
there 'was only one tradition of enlightened thinking that ran counter
to all this intellectual absolutism, in the name of an appreciation of
the Jew and Judaism as one of the many valid forms of culture and
religion. That was the relativism of Montesquieu?

But even Montesquieu, Hertzberg tells us, does not seem to have
been an entirely consistent friend of the Jews, especially if one takes
into consideration of his unpublished works.

Those who were to quote him in the debates about the Jews would
sometimes make no distinction between complete cultural laissez-faire,
that is, the policy of letting the Jews be themselves, and the more per-
vasive idea that freedom was the sole means of improving the char-
acter of the Jews. On this point, Montesquieu himself had been equally
contradictory."

Hertzberg is here referring to various passages in Montesquieu's writing
ings where he spcaks in a derisory fashion of rabbinic Judaism and
of the Jews' penchant for commerce, sometimes revealing prejudices
that show him 'at his most Christian'.'

Katz, it seems, based his understanding of Montesquieu's position
with regard to the Jews on Hertzberg's work. It is therefore quite
likely that his ambivalence about including Montesqueu on his list
of precursors of Jewish emancipation is due to the criticisms of the
Jews to which Hertzberg refers. But these remarks should not really
have unearthed Katz from granting him the status he granted to
Locke and Toland. For whatever reservations Montesquieu mav have
expressed about the religion and character of the Jews, he can cer-
tainly be described as someone who advanced, to borrow Katz's own

words, 'the idea of accepting the Jew into society without the expectation
tation of his ultimate conversion'.

As we shall see, Montesquieu had less of a liking for Judaism and
Jewish culture than Hertzberg attributes to him, but he did not like
Christianity any better. Nowhere did he betray any eagerness to see
the Jews exchange their ancestral religion for the one to which he
himself paid hp service. What one fmds in his writings, instead, is
an impassioned denunciation of those who sought to compel the Jews

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to make such a trade. Despite the fact that he had a low regard for
the Jewish religious tradition, Montesquieu appreciated the contrition
butions made by the Jews to European life. He clearly hoped that
European society would become more hospitable to them.

Montesquieu's support for the inclusion of the Jews in society gives
us cause to wonder why he did not go still further and promote
their complete emancipation. Considered in the light of his politics
philosophy taken as a whole, his failure to do so is not greatly sur-
pnising. There is no reason to believe that he saw any pressing need
to bring a complete and immediate end to Jewish separatism. There
is, on the other hand, good reason to believe that he attached no
positive importance to it and expected certain social benefit
processes to chip away at it slowly. In this respect he can be instructed
tively compared to Karl Marx, a thinker from the subsequent cen-
tury who imagined that a very different social process would have
a rather similar, if more rapid, effect.

We should note, first of all, that Montesquieu was not very much
of a Christian. As Pauline Kra has observed, he was at bottom a
deist who relegated 'the supreme being to a distant sphere of meta-
physical speculation where its existence becomes hypothetical and
of no immediate relevance to the world of human affairs' © Nevertheless,
cognizant of the risks involved in 'discussing matters of faith in the
dangerous political climate of eighteenth-century France', Montesquieu
exercised considerable caution in his discussion of religion. When his
enemies accused him of writing books that contained veiled attacks
on the Catholic Church, he denied having done any such thing.
'Yet', as Sanford Kessler has put it, 'a close study of the Persian Letters
will show that Montesquieu did his utmost to discredit not only
Catholicism but all religions derived from the Bible” Kessler's detailed
analysis of several crucial passages of this extremely difficult work
shows how Montesquieu slyly condemned 'not only the irrational

dominion of a harsh and jealous God but also the suffering of Biblical peoples under theocratic rule'. He similarly deplored the way in

8 Pauline Kra, 'Religion in Montesquieu's Lettres Persanes', in Sfudes on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century edited by Theodore Besterman, vol. LXXIT, Institutes and Voltaire Museum, Geneva, 1970, p. 168.

9 Sanford Kessler, 'Religion and Liberalism in Montesquieu's Persian Letters', in Polity 15, Spring 1983, p. 383.

15 For instance, Kessler analyzes a tale attributed to a mythical woman named

which governments use 'Biblical teachings—such as submission and obedience to political authority —to maintain oppression'."

Kessler's subtle reading of Montesquieu's attitude toward the Bible throws doubt on Hertzberg's contention that Montesquieu depicted Judaism as a relatively good form of culture and religion. This questionable claim is, it seems, mainly based on the following passage from Book XIX of The Spirit of the Laws:

Solon was asked if the laws he had given to the Athenians were the best; 'I have given them the best laws they could endure', he replied: This is a fine speech that. should be heard by all legislators. When the divine wisdom said to the Jewish people, 'I have given you precepts that are not good', this meant that the precepts were only relatively good, which sponges away all the difficulties one can propose about the Mosaic laws."

According to Hertzberg, what Montesquieu is arguing here is

that the 'laws of Moses and the different laws of Solon had each

been created, wisely, in the context of a specific time and place'.

Montesquieu's attitude toward the Law of Moses is, then, if not reverential, at least respectful and appreciative.

Zulema in letter 141 of the Persian Letters. The story concerns a certain Ibrahim, the tyrannical master of a harem of twelve beautiful wives. Among other things, Ibrahim kept these women 'locked up almost all the time, in their rooms, without

letting them see or talk to each other, for even innocent friendship made him jealou. When one of these wives denounced his tyrannical treatment of herself and the other inhabitants of the seraglio, he wrathfully murdered her. From the sensual paradise to which she was then relocated, she took posthumous revenge upon Ibrahim. She sent to earth an angel disguised as Ibrahim who dethroned the old Ibrahim and established a new, vastly happier order in the Seraglio. Sanford Kessler has convincingly analyzed this tale as an attack on biblical religion. 'The fictional master of the harem is', he writes, 'insufferably jealous', Hke the Biblical God. His name, Ibrahim, is the Islamic version of Abraham, the progenitor of all the Biblical peoples. He rules over twelve beautiful women who may represent either the twelve tribes of Israel or the twelve apostles. After the revolution, the new Ibrahim 'is gentle, affable, and free from the jealousy which plagued the old Ibrahim, Usbek, and the Biblical God'. He allows the women' to live freely according to their nature and devotes himself to their physical and, especially, their sexual happiness. Their loyalty to their new lord is based on reason, consent, and gratitude rather than coercion and fear'. What the story thus represents is, in short, the triumph of natural human years over a type of repressive theocracy rooted, ultimately, in the Old Testament.

ll Jnd., p. 389.

® Montesquieu, The Spirit of the Laws, trans. and ed. Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, VHS A):

5 The French Enlightenment and the few, p. 274.

It would be wrong, however, to treat this particular passage as Montesquieu's final word on this subject. Despite his assertion in this context that he has introduced considerations resolving 'all the chfficulties one can propose about the Mosaic laws', Montesquieu in fact presented a much deeper, if less open and explicit, critique of those laws. This critique is found—between the lines—in the very same place as the passage just cited, Book XIX of The Sparit of the Laws.

The bulk of this book is devoted to a discussion of China, identified by Montesquieu as 'a despotic state, whose principle is fear'. And as Judith Shklar has put it, for Montesquieu 'The politics of fear remained the supreme enemy'." The peculiar quality of the Chinese government, elucidated by Montesquieu at considerable length, is that its legislators confused the 'religion, laws, mores, and manners' governing the lives of their people. For them,

all was morality, all was virtue. The precepts concerning these four points were what one called rites. It was in the exact observation of these rites that the Chinese government triumphed. One passed all of

one's youth learning them, all of one's life practicing them. . .'

The Chinese legislators took this tack because they had in view 'the tranquility of the empire as the principal object of government. Subordination seemed to them the most appropriate means to main- hold it." However laudable Montesquieu may have considered their basic aims to be, he clearly believed that they went much too far in pursuit of them. If they achieved them, they did so at the excess sively high expense of their people's liberty.

Just prior to the chapters in Book XIX in which he elaborates his critique of Chinese despotism, Montesquieu makes some intro- ductory remarks to which he appends to footnote including this laconic statement: 'Moses made a single code of laws and laws'. In this intentionally inconspicuous way Montesquieu draws a hugely significant parallel. This does not necessarily entitle us to conclude, as does Diana Schaub, that the whole 'series of chapters on China... is

t The Spirit of the Laws, VIIL.21.

5 Judith N. Shklar, Montesquieu, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1987. p. 60.

16 The Spirit of the Laws, XIX.17.

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meant to be read as a disguised critique of the laws of Moses and the principle of biblical morality'. But it certainly reflects a belief on Montesquieu's part that therc is an essential similarity between Chinese despotism and Mosaic rule. Montesquieu states unambiguously, Schaub reminds us, that China is a despotic state whose principle is fear, notwithstanding the fact that it is 'bound together by relations of love between fathers (or father figures) and the subjects of fatherly rule'. What he seems to be indicating in his footnote is a belief that he was still too wary to state openly, ie., in Schaub's words, that tea

same combination of fear and love is at the heart of the biblical order. The love of the heavenly father masks the fear of the heavenly father. The relationship between man and God is despotic.

With this in mind, now, we ought to consider once again, in its proper context, the statement from Book XIX of The Spirit of the

Laws in which Montesquieu characterizes the Mosaic Law in general as being only relatively good. This statement comes at the end of the section on China, which thus 'concludes, as it began with a critical reference to Moses. . 8 It thereby serves to remind the attentive reader once again of the relevance of what Montesquieu explains itly says about the Chinese regime to his view of the Mosaic one, which he mentions in the earlier footnote. It is, in effect, less of an acknowledgment that the Law of Moses was good for its own time and place than a declaration that it was a good means of accomplishing a rather dubious purpose.

Montesquieu's rather covert disapproval of biblical Judaism should be compared to his more direct, if onlv privately expressed, condemnation of rabbinic Judaism. In his unpublished Essay on causes which can affect minds and characters, Montesquieu comments at some length on the way in which the Babylonian exile affected the ancient Jews. He introduces his remarks here with the general observation that

Moral causes form the general character of a nation and determine the quality of its spirit more than physical causes. One can find a great proof of this in the Jews who, scattered throughout the world,

© Diana J. Schaub, Erotic Liberalism: Women and Revolution in Montesquieu's Persian Letters, Rowman and Littieeld, London, 1995, p. 140.

appearing at all times, born in all lands, have had a quantity of authors of which one could scarcely cite two who have had any common sense”

How can one explain the fact that 'among the crowd of rabbis who wrote, there was not a single one of even a minor order of genius?

The Jews returning from Assyria were a little like captives delivered from Algiers ... but they were cruder, since they were born and their fathers were born in slavery. Although they had an infinite respect for their sacred books, they had little knowledge of them; they scarcely understood any longer the language in which they were written; they had only the traditions of great marvels that God had effected on behalf "of their fathers ... The scholars, that is to say the people who had their heads full of these crude traditions, received them, &, since the first writers of all nations, good & bad, always had an infinite reputation tation ... it came about that these first and miserable works were regarded by the Jews as perfect models on the basis of which they

would form and always formed since then their taste and their genius."

These critical remarks, according to Hertzherg, show Montesquieu fat his most Christian'! But what kind of Chnistian would speak so irreverently of the books of the Old Testament? Far from being a faithful Christian himself, Montesquieu adhered, as we have already seen, to a deistic conception of the universe. His denigration of the rabbis must therefore be understood to reflect not a lingering commitment to his ancestral religion but his rationalist convictions.

It was in the spirit of Enlightenment rationalism, too, that Montesquieu strongly and repeatedly condemned those Christians who persecuted the Jews for religious reasons." He did so most memorably

19 Complete Works of Montesquieu, ed. M. André Masson, Nagel Publishers, Paris, 1950 volallbanest? 1.

2 Jhid., p. 422. This is the passage that Hertzberg apparently had in mind when he claimed that Montesquieu 'used the notion of the negative influence of the environment to be rather contemptuous of Jews, in private. . " (The French Enlightenment and the Jews, p. 276). But as Montesquieu's own prefatory remarks indicate, he is in fact pointing to a moral, not a physical cause for certain regrettable Jewish characteristics.

2 Hertzberg, The French Enlightenment and the Jaws, p. 275.

2 In the Persian Letters Usbek expresses the opinion that a mistake was made in Spain when the Jews were expelled, just as a similar mistake was made in France, when the Protestants were victimized (Letter 60). Rica expresses similar feelings when he caustically alludes to the Inquisition, 'which never burned a Jew without making his excuses to him', (/bid., Letter 78). See also The Spinit of he Laws, XILA4, XIL5, and XXIX.16 and Book XXI.

in a passage that seems once to have been deservedly famous but which may now be in some danger of being forgotten. In Book XXV of The Spirit of the Laws he allows us to hear the complaint of an anonymous mous Jew of his own invention." Deeply moved by the recent death of a Jewish woman in Lisbon in an auto da fe, he eloquently rebukes the Inquisitors for their betrayal of the principles of Christianity no less than of common humanity:

You kill us, we who believe no more than what you believe because we do not believe everything that you believe. We follow a religion that you yourself know to have been formerly cherished by god; we think that god loves it still, and you think that he does not love it any

longer, and because you judge it thus, you have afflicted with iron and fire those who are in the quite pardonable error of believing that god still loves that which he loved...

We enter you, not by the powerful god both we serve, but by the Christ that you tell us took on the human condition in order to give you examples you could follow; we enter you to act with us as he himself would act if he were still on earth. You want us to be Christians, and you do not want to be Christians yourselves.

But if you do not want to be Christians, at least be men; treat us as you would if, having only the feeble lights of justice that nature gives us, you had no religion to guide you and no revelation to enlighten you.

This 'very humble remonstrance to the Inquisitors of Spain and Portugal', whose full force can be felt only when it is read in its entirety, concludes with a prescient warning to the inquisitors: in the future, you will be cited to prove that the Europeans of your day were barbarians, 'and the idea one will have about you will be such that it will stigmatize your century and bring hatred on all your contemporaries'."*

Elsewherc in The Spint of the Laws Montesquieu considers the con-sequences of less vicious but still barbarie" treatment of the Jews. In a chapter entitled 'How commerce in Europe penetrated barbarism'. he explains how, as a consequence of the scholastics” condemnation of moneylending,

According to Frank Manuel this passage was 'often cited in the eighteenth century as a classical plea for religious tolerance'. In recent scholarly literature, however, it has received far less attention than similar pleas on the part of Lessing and Mendelssohn, The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1992, p. 215.

The Spirit of the Laws, XXV.15.

commerce, which was the profession only of mean people, also became that of dishonest people; for, whenever one prohibits thing that is naturally permitted or necessary, one only makes dishonest the peo-ple who do it.

Thus, business passed in the Middle Ages

to a nation then covered with infamy fi.e. the Jews], and soon it was no longer distinguished from the most horrible usuries, from monopolies, from the levy of subsidies, and from all the dishonest means of acquiring silver.

Permitted, at first, to enrich themselves, the Jews were eventually pillaged, tortured, and forced into exile. Although 'proscribed by each country in turn', they

found the means for saving their effects. In that way, they managed to fix their refuges forever; a prince who wanted very much to be rid of them would not, for all that, be in a humor to rid himself of their silver. They invented letters of exchange, and in this way commerce was able to avoid violence and maintain itself everywhere, for the richest trader had only invisible goods, which could be smelled everywhere and leave no trace anywhere.

Theologians were obliged to curb their principles, and commerce, which had been violently linked to bad faith, returned, so to speak, to the bosom of integrity. Thus, to the speculations of schoolmen we owe all the misfortunes that accompanied the destruction of commerce; and to the avarice of princes we owe the establishment of a device that puts it, in a way, out of their power.®

What is left unsaid but clearly implied in this passage has recently been spelled out by Diana Schaub:

Apparently, once the bill of exchange had rendered commerce safe for the Jews who engaged in it, the Church found it difficult to maintain tain the ban on Christian involvement. It was certainly easier to convince the believers of the choice-worthiness of poverty when the posessions and persons of wealthy outsiders were insecure, exposed to expropriation tion and violence. Montesquieu approves of the mitigation of Christian reservations against commerce and property. . .°

Montesquieu, it is clear, welcomes this paradoxical twist of fate that has proven beneficial, in an unexpected way, to the development of

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2% Schaub, Erotic Liberalism, p. 128.

trade. For of 'all the fields of legislative activity open to a mod-

ern state", as Judith Shklar has written, 'none seemed to Montesquieu more important than commercial activity." Apart from the extensive material and political benefits it brought with it, commerce, he believed,

cures most destructive prejudices, and it is an almost general rule that everywhere there are gentler mores, there is commerce and that everywhere there is commerce, there are gentler mores. Therefore, one should not be surprised if our mores are less fierce than they were formerly. Commerce has spread knowledge of the mores of all nations everywhere; they have been compared to each other, and good things have resulted from this"?

Far from begrudging the Jews their preoccupation with money matters, Montesquieu, as Schaub puts it, 'acknowledged—and in his understated way—celebrated the Jewish role in the advent of modern capitalism"." Here he differs, in a way that ought not to be overlooked, from subsequent Enlightenment writers such as Chrisuan Wilhelm von Dohm, whose calls for better treatment of the Jews were intertwined with plans for entertaining them from their unhealthful commercial pursuits.® As far as Montesquieu is concerned, the Jews did not need to mend their economic ways, but could remain just as they were'! For the effects of a life of commerce were, in his eyes, essentially salutary.∗?

7 Shklar, Montesquieu, p. 106.

% The Spirit of the Laws, XX.I.

∗ Schaub, Erotic Liberalism, p. 127. Arthur Hertzberg is therefore mistaken in his interpretation of a comment made by one of the characters in the Peosian Letters to the effect that 'wherever there is money, there are Jews' (see Hertzberg, p. 275). This apparent denigration of the Jews should not be regarded as a reflection of Montesquieu's unfavorable opinion of them.

% See J. Reinharz and P. Mendes-Flohr, The Jew in the Modern World, Oxford University Press, New York, 1980, pp. 28 36.

3! If, however, one helps Montesquieu's unpublished writings for evidence that he regarded the Jews' commercial dealings with some hostility, one does not emerge entirely empty-handed. In his account of his voyage to Holland, he wrote as follows: 'Everything that one has told me about the avarice, the cheating, the rascality of the Dutch is not made up at all; it's the pure truth. I don't believe that, since the time of a famous man named udas there has ever been a Jew more Jews than some of them' (Complete Works, vol. IL, p. 1290). What this reflects is, at most, a certain residual prejudice against Jews—to which Montesquieu never gave any public expression.

∗ They were not, however, altogether unexceptionable. See The Spirit of the Laws,

Whatever he may have thought of Judaism, Montesquieu certainly had no desire to see them convert to Christianity. In addition to his impassioncd denunciations of their persecutors, he emphasized the Jews' positive contributions to European life. This would seem to quahfy Montesquieu to be included alongside John Locke and John Toland on Jacob Katz's list of 'early promoters of the scular basis for the state' who 'were also the forerunners of the idea of accepting the Jew into society without the expectation of his ultimate conversion'. What Montesquieu definitely did not do, however, was formulate to program that would entitle us to consider him to be not merely a precursor but a proponent of Jewish emancipation. Given his evident sympathy for the Jews and appreciation of their activities ties, one might wonder why he did not in the end take this step.

He did in fact come fairly close to doing so, but only in his unpublished writings. In his Italian travel diary he comments that

the policy of enclosing the Jews in a neighborhood where they cannot spread out, and where they are pell mell, is barbaric and, besides, can cause many contagious diseases.

Similarly, in his private Thoughts he outlined what Frank Manuel has aptly characterized as a

passing proposal that Jews be allowed to settle in an enclave somewhere between France and Spain, where they would be granted privileges of open trading similar to those of the Jews of Livorno in Italy.”

Had Montesquieu expanded on these thoughts and resulted some kind of public plea for the granting of equal rights to the Jews, it would no doubt have had a powerful impact. The intervention of person of his great stature might perhaps have led to a much earlier staging of the inevitable debate about Jewish emancipation.

In order to understand why Montesquieu did not attempt to do something of this sort, one needs to remember what he was not. Among other things, he was not a philosopher who took as his point of departure the existence of a state of nature where all individuals

3 Montesquieu does refer once to the 'blindness' of the Jews in a theological footnote in The Spirit of the Laws (XXV.13). But this reflects, as Schaub (Ærotc

Liberalism, p. 127) has observed, nothing but feigned piety.

% Complete Works, p. 1189.

35 Manuel, Frank, The Broken Staff, p. 217. See Complete Works, vol. IT, p. 107.

possessed in cqual measure certain pre-political rights. He didn't develop a social contract theory holding that such individuals exchanged their exceedingly precarious natural rights for more stable polucal rights, including the right to liberty of conscience. Nor did he argue that every citizen, regardless of religious affiliation, had an equal right to play a part in the governance of the state in which he lived. His failure to call for equal rights for the Jews can therefore not be regarded as a deviation from his principles, one that might be said to reflect residual anti-Jewish prejudice.

Beyond this, Montesquieu did not see any urgent need to eradicate cate the differences between European Jews and the people whose amidst they lived. Like most of his contemporaries. he thought of the Jews as the members of a nation, not as individuals who shared a religious persuasion. And unlike great many subsequent politics thinkers of all stripes, Montesquieu could in fact entertain the idea of different national entities, governed by different laws, living under the same sovereignty. 'In China', he wrote,

the Chinese are governed by Chinese ceremonies and the Tartars by the Tartars; they are, however, the people in the world which most have tranquility as their purpose. When the citizens observe the laws, what does it matter if they observe the same ones?∗

Montesquieu thus had no cause to fret about the Jews constitution 'a nation within the nation', and could countenance without any reservations the continued existence of Jewish communities living as separate entities in accordance with Jewish law in the midst of the nations of Europe.

The fact that Montesquieu had no reason to object to such a state of affairs should not, however, be taken as a sign that he had any great rchsh for it. However much of a cultural relativist he may have been, he was by no means an enthusiastic cultural pluralist. There is no reason to believe that he had any particular desire to see the Jews perpetuate their distinct tradition, a heritage to which the Jews adhere, im his opinion, with 'that mvincible stubborn religious conviction which yards on folly".”? It was despite and not because

% The Spirit of the Laws, XXIX.18.
* Montesquieu, Persian Letters, trans. CJ Betts, Penguin, London and New York, 1973, Letter 60,

of his attitude toward Judaism that he strongly opposes any efforts on the part of non-Jews to suppress it.

Montesquieu indicates in Book XXV of The Spirit of the Laws what may have been, in his opinion, the best way to deal with a phenomenon like Judaism. It is not by harsh means, he there explains, that one can successfully 'attack' a religion. The morc judicious way is to tempt the soul of its adherent

by favors, by the comforts of life, by the hope of fortune, not by what reminds one of it, but by what makes one forget it; not by what makes one indignant, but by what leads one to indifference when other pas-
.Sions act on our souls and when those that religion inspires are silent. General rule: in the matter of changing religion, invitations are stronger than penalties.?

This general statement is not made in specific reference to Judaism, but it appears just before the 'very humble remonstrance' in which Montesquicu's unnamed Jew pleads for gentler treatment of his people. It clearly points the way, among other things, to a wiser policy than the one pursued by the infamous inquisitors.

It does not, however, spell out the details of such a policy. Montesquieu apparently perceived no need to do so. This is probably ably because he could already observe the unfolding of the solution he had in mind, ie the spread of commerce, a development which he regards as the cure for the 'most destructive prejudices'. For Montesquieu commerce is by itself, as Thomas Pangle has put it, capable of establishing 'the brotherhood of man' through 'the reduction tion of all differences to the lowest common denominator—the need for security and the desire for comfort.” It had already softened the prejudices of the Jews' adversaries, and induced them to treat the Jews more decently. This at least is the opinion expressed by one of the characters in the Persian Letters. 'An Europe [the Jews] have never enjoyed such freedom from disturbance”, he writes to his friend in Smyrna, 'as that which they now have'. The Christians, he continues, are beginning to overcome the spirit of intolerance that had previously animated them.” There is every reason to believe that

% The Spirit of the Laws, XXV.12.

% Thomas L. Pangle, Montesquieu's Philosophy of Liberalism: A Commentary on The Spirit of the Laws, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1973, p. 207.

40 Persian Letters, Letter 60, p. 125.

this fictional character's satisfaction at being able to report this change in attitude corresponds completely to that of his creator." Montesquieu may also have supposed that commerce was having a comparable effect on the prejudices of the Jews themselves. He may have come to such a conclusion as a result of his observation of his neighbors, the increasingly acculturated Sephardic merchants of southern France.

As Hertzberg suggests,

it is perhaps, not too farfetched to suppose that Montesquieu's aware-ness of the Bordeaux Jewish community had something to do with the liberalism of his public views in relation to the Jews.*

Even though he does not say so explicitly, we can assume from what he says about Judaism that Montesquieu wished that the Jews would eventually escape the shackles of their religion, or at least modify their religion in such a manner as to mitigate as far as possible its undesirable effects. This was, however, something which he surely wished to see them do voluntarily, in response not to external threats or coaxing but as part of a process of adjustment to the new, hos-pitiable climate in which he believed they currently found themselves and in which, he hoped, they would continue to live. The com-mercial society that they themselves had done so much to help to create would play its part, he may very well have expected, in the gradual undermining of the basis for a separate Jewish existence. In the context of his discussion of Montesquieu's treatment of the Jewish contribution to the development of European commerce, Diana Schaub usefully contrasts Montesquieu's views on this subject with some of what Karl Marx savs in On the Jewish Question. Marx's assertion that 'the bill of exchange is the real god of the Jew' may be, she writes, 'a twisted rendering of Montesquieu's account' of the Jews' invention of the bill of exchange. She further comments that 'Marx's lament that Christianity 'has now been re-absorbed into

*! 'There is further evidence of this in his Pensées. 'The Jews', he wrote, 'are at present saved: superstition will not return again, & one will no longer exterminate nate them as à matter of conscience (par principe de conscience), Oeuvres Complètes, vol. [LS 22262;

© Observing that little direct contact between Montesquieu and the Jews of this region has yet been documented, he maintains that it is nevertheless 'inconceivable that there should not have been some'. He notes evidence that Montesquieu was a friend of Joseph Cordozo, 'a doctor who was a convert', The French Enlightenment and the Jews, pp. 275–6.

Judaism" reads like 'vicious inversion' of Montesquieu's statement that commerce 're-entered' Christendom's 'hosom of probity' through the agency of the Jews."

Even if, as Schaub attemptedly suggests, Marx derived some of his notions on this subject from a reading of Montesquieu, he transformed what the latter had said almost beyond recognition. Unlike Montesquieu, Marx saw an intimate connection not only between the Jews and commerce but also between Judaism and commerce. For Montesquieu, the Jewish involvement in commerce was, so to speak, accidental, the result of external compulsion, and had nothing to do with it ing in particular to do with the Jewish religion. Marx, on the other hand, without pausing to consider the historical circumstances responsible sible for the Jews' becoming a predominantly commercial people, identified the essence of Judaism with the essence of capitalism. For him, therefore, the commercialization of European society resumes felt its Judaization in a way that it never did for Montesquieu.

Montesquieu apparently expected that the spread of commerce and its attendant way of life would by themselves decisively advance if not complete the Jews' assimilation into the societies in whose amidst they lived, without necessarily leading to the abandonment of their religion. Marx, regarding capitalism in itself as much as Judaization, imagined the replacement of bourgeois society by communism to be the necessary precondition for the dissolution of both the Jewish people and Judaism. Who, one might ask, had a better understanding of the way in which the 'Jewish Question' could be resolved, Marx or Montesquieu? The vicissitudes of history, [would say, have—probably permanently—deprived us of any opportunity to test the ultimate validity of Marx's prognostications. The expectations of Montesquieu, on the other hand, have been confirmed by much, though certainly not by all, of recent Jewish history. With respect to the Jews, at least, invitations do seem to work somewhat better than penalties.

5 Schaub, Erotic Liberalism, pp. 127–8.

Paul Benhamou

Let us begin by recalling that in the Age of Enlightenment, there was no not strictly speaking a 'Jewish question', that the Jews were unevenly distributed across different regions of France, the main- ment in the South-West (Bordeaux, Bayonne), in the East (Alsace, Lorraine, the Three Bishoprics), in the Comtat Venaissin (Avignon), and that they were far from constituting a coherent and unified 'nation', but rather 'an aggregate of disunited nations', as Patrick noted Girard.' The decree prohibiting residence, promulgated by Charles VI in 1394 was still in force, but unequally applied according to the regions.

It is also recognized that before the Society's involvement Royal Society of Sciences and Arts of Metz, for the year 1787, on the subject: 'Are there ways to make the Jews happier and more useful in France?", the civil status of Jews in France had hardly been a concern the attention of philosophers. As Roland Mortier reminds us,

It is the religious tradition of Judaism that is of primary interest French 'philosophers', from Voltaire to the circle of Baron d'Holbach"

It is evident today that the attitude of the Philosophers and of Encyclopedists' views on Judaism and the Jews have been the subject of much discussion. numerous works. We are thinking, for example, of color studies covering the entire period, like that of Léon Poliakov, that of Arthur Hertzberg, Paul Meyer's, and Roland Mortier's," thus

Patrick Girard, The French Revolution and the Jews, Robert Laffont, Paris, 1989
#7
F2 Roland Mortier, 'French 'Philosophers' facing Judaism and Jewishness', in The Battles of the Enlightenment, Ferney-Voltaire: International Center for 17th Centur century, 2000, pp. 292-293.

3 [Poliakov, History of Anti-Semitism, 3. From Voltaire to Wagner, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1968; A. Hertzberg, The French Enlightenment and the Jews, Columbia University Press, New York & London, 1968; P. Meyer, 'The Attitude of the Enlightenment towards the Jews', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 26, 1963, pn MGIS1205; Roland Mortier, op. cit.

than to studies focused exclusively on the case of Voltaire, such as that of Picrre Aubery, that of Jacob Katz, that of Roland Desné, that of Charles Porset, that of Arnold Ages, or even that of Bertram Schwartzbach! Which leads me to say, in my humble opinion

In my opinion, we were too preoccupied with whether Voltaire was, or was not
not anti-Semitic, and this at the expense of those who in this same Century
of the Enlightenment, demonstrated a much more positive attitude towards
regarding the Jews and their religion, the Philosophers: I want to par-
First of the so-called Antiphilosophers, the defenders of the throne and the altar.
those who wanted to 'claim the rights of religion than the authors
reckless people strive to abolish such things as the editor of the Yearbook.
raire, Ehe Fréron, and the highly successful author of Letters from Some Fus
Portuguese, German, and Polish, Father Antoine Guénée. As they have
Hilary and William Rubinstein observed very correctly:

Compared with the thousands upon thousands of books and articles
which have appeared in recent times about antisemitism, virtually
nothing whatsoever has been written about philosemitism,

adding that

much more attention should be paid by scholars to philosemitism than
has hitherto been the case.

The philosemitism that we discovered during the Age of Enlightenment
is essentially a Christian philosemitism, and the 'philosemite' is
generally a person who considers an attack against Jews.
and their religious traditions, as an attack against Christians
hold on and their religion. But, as eighteenth-century criticism has
primarily interested until now in Voltaire's anti-Semitism, we
Very little is known about Abbot Guénée, apart from the

! Pierre Aubery, 'Voltaire and Antisemitism: À Reply to Hertzberg', Studies on
Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 217, 1983, pp. 177-–82; Jacob Katz, 'Judaism
and the Jews as seen by Voltaire', Dispersion and Unity, 18, 1978, pp. 135–49; Roland Desr
'Was Voltaire an anti-Semite?', La Pensée, 203, 1979, pp. 70–81; Charles Porset, 'Voltaire
and the Jews', in The Dreyfus Affair, Jews of France, International Symposium of Mulhouse,
Besançon, 1994, pp. 79–104; Arnold Ages, 'Tainted Greatness: The Case of Voltaire's
Anti-Semitism. The Testimony of the Correspondence', Neohelicon, 21/22, 1994, pp.
357–367; Bertram Schwarzbach, 'Voltaire and the Jews: assessment and defense', Studies on
Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 358, 1998, pp. 27–91.

® Literary year, 1759, VI, 69.

® William D. Rubinstein & Hilary L. Rubinstein, Philosemitism in the English-Speaking
World, MacMillan Press, London, 1999, pp. ix–x. See also Solomon Rappaport,
Jew and Gentile: The Phlo-Semitic Aspect, Philosophical Library, New York, 1980.

brief or longer mentions found in the works of
Monod,” of Hertzherg, of Levy, of Porset, and of Schwarzhach, and he
There has been virtually no study on this philo-Semitic abbot since
the 1930s,” except for the recent article by Sylviane Albertan-Coppola.
As for Elie Fréron, and his Literary Year, they are fortunately
now much better known thanks to the work of Jean Balcou,'!
by Jacqueline Biard-Millerioux, and other eighteenth-century scholars.

So we followed the Rubinsteins' advice, and we pro-
let us propose to give the floor to two anti-philosophers of the Century of
Enlightenment thinkers, who had the courage to defend the Jews, cha-
cun in his own way, in this long anti-Jewish campaign that Voltaire
launched from Ferney: the first, and most important, Abbot Antoine
Guénée, in his Letters from some Portuguese, German and Polish Jews to
Mr. de Voltaire, a work which, let us remember, was very successful
ces de hbrairie, judging by the fifteen or so editions it had between
1769 and 1860, and the numerous translations to which it was subjected in
the foreigner; the second, the famous literary critic Elie Fréron, in
the columns of his periodical L'Année littéraire, better known and studied
that Guénée, mainly because of his noisy disputes with
Voltaire and the Philosophers.

Between the publication of Isaac Pinto's Apologie pour la nahon juwe
in 1762, and that of Zalkind Hourwitz's Apology for the Jews in 1789,
It is clear that the defenders of the Jews will be either anti-philo-
sophists, that is to say conservative writers who denounced the

7 Albert Monod, From Pascal to Chateaubriand. The French defenders of Christianity
1670 to 1802, Fébhx Alcan, Paris, 1916.

David Levy, 'Voltaire and his exegesis of the Pentateuch: Criticism and polemic',
Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 130, 1975. 'With Guénée', writes Levy
(p. 297), 'Voltaire is dealing with a formidable opponent, a fearsome polemicist, and
This explains the speed and violence of his reaction.

% See Abbé F. Dufflo, Abbé Guénée, university professor, adversary of Voltaire
(1717-1803), Lethielleux, Paris, 1933; Dudley Wright, 'The Priest Who Refuted Voltaire'
and its anti-Judaism', Catholic Bulletin, XVII 1939, pp. 743-747.

10 <Abbé Guénée, 'Jewish Secretary' against Voltaire on the occasion of the Treatise on th
“Tolerance,” in Readings of Voltaire, Isabelle Brouard-Arends, ed., Presses Universitaires
of Rennes, Rennes, 1999, pp. 85-102. See also by the same author, 'The Bible: The
Land of milk and honey, an essay in retrospective geography by the abbot
Guénée', in Mirrors of Otherness and Journeys to the Near East, Ilana Zinguer, ed. Edi-
tions Slatkine, Geneva, 1991, pp. 247-257.

U Jean Balcou, Fréron against the Philosophers, Droz, Geneva, 1975.

2 Jacqueline Biard-Millerioux, The Aesthetics of Elie-Catherine Fréron 1739-1776: Literatu
and criticism in the 18th century, PUF, Paris, 1985.

dangers to the throne and the altar contained in the works of the new
Philosophical calves, or apologists for the Christian religion, who
were well aware that by attacking the Old Testament, Voltaire,
and some of his colleagues were targeting the New. But by opposing
Voltaire and the Philosophers all suffered the sad fate of being
forgotten today, or else to be judged solely on the basis of
what their main enemy wrote about them, and not about what they
they wrote it themselves.

In 1762, the Portuguese Jew Isaac Pinto published an Apology for the
Jewish nation or Critical reflections on the first chapter of volume VII" of the works
from Mr. de Voltaire, to very respectfully refute some
of his accusations against the Jews, in particular the one where Voltaire
presented as 'an ignorant and barbaric people, who have joined since
for a long time the most unworthy avarice to the most detestable superstition.
and the most horrible hatred for all the peoples who tolerate them and
who enrich them. Yet we mustn't burn them.' Pinto had
sent Voltaire the manuscript of his Apology, preceded by a letter
very flattering, but not without irony, in which he wrote:

because I respect the author even more than I admire his works,
I believe he is a great enough man to forgive me this criticism.
in favor of the truth which is so dear to him, and which perhaps has not escaped him
I hope at least that he finds me-
This will be all the more excusable since I am acting in favor of an entire nation.
to whom I belong, and to whom I owe this apology (Letters I, 34).

What Pinto criticized in the writer whom he considered 'the most
“The great genius of the most enlightened century” (Letters 1, 20), was to give
courses to the calumnies of which the Jews were then accused, and also to accre-
to somehow address the horrible prejudices against Jews instead
to use his talents to destroy them, because, he said, 'That's not all
Instead of burning people, we burn with the pen, and this fire is
all the more cruel because its effect is passed on to future generations' (Letters)
I, 19). Fréron reviewed, in the same year, Pinto's Apology,
whom he nicknamed 'the avenger of the Jewish nation' (AL, 1762, VI, 321),
and Cita, with a mischievous delight, cites Pinto's main arguments against
Voltaire, in a dozen pages of his periodical, and in his
Conclusion 1: 'This writing, sir, deserves to be read. It casts some

5 Guénée, Letters from some Portuguese Jews, Mequignon junior, Paris, 1817, 9°"
edition, volume I, pp. 11-12.

lights on the Jewish people" (AL 1762, VI, 331); and he quoted a step-
wise of Voltaire's reply to Pinto which had been published in the
Mercury: 'The lines you complain about, sir, are violent-
Yourselves and unjust. There are among you very learned and very
respectable. I will make sure to have a box placed in the new
edition' (AZ, 1762, VI, 330-331). We know that Voltaire did not make
Nothing. Consequently, Fréron ended his report with a
magnificent pirouette: 'It would be very desirable that Mr. de Voltaire
thus acknowledged all his wrongs, all his mistakes, and above all, that he would repair th
rat, let him correct them. It is true that it would be a furious job to
his age' (AZ, 1762, VI, 331).

A few years later, a former rhetoric professor from
Collège du Plessis in Paris, which knew not only Latin and
Greek, but also Hebrew and English, Father Antoine Guénée decided
to undertake the defense of the Bible against repeated attacks from
Voltaire. Using Voltaire's technique of using a pseudonym, he published,
In 1765, a 24-page octavo pamphlet entitled 'Letter from the Rabbi'
Aaron Mathathaï to Guillaume Vadé, translated from Dutch by the
Levite Joseph Ben-Jonathan, and accompanied by more useful notes'.
This was a response to a note from Voltaire concerning the golden calf.
from Chapter XII of the Treatise on Tolerance.

We don't think she had the slightest success, because we don't...
we found no echo in the press of the time, and Voltaire himself-
She doesn't even seem to have been aware of it. But, she doesn't
remains no less significant, because it represents not only
the first clash in the long-running polemic between the anti-philosopher
philosemite with the Judeophobic Philosopher, but also the first
essay Letter from some Jews, in which Guénée took on the mask
from two Jewish correspondents to refute Voltaire. We know that
Voltaire had disguised himself more than once as a pastor, a bishop, or even
as a rabbi, in order to confuse his opponents and his readers, and it is necessary
to recognize that Father Guénée displayed a certain chutzpah
to use the same method as his famous opponent, or as
René Pomeau was to declare: 'Guénée knew how to grasp the Voltairean way-
enne',* and this must undoubtedly have contributed to the success of his
work. This 'Letter from Rabbi Aaron Mathathaÿ' can be considered

4 René Pomeau, The Religion of Voltaire. New revised and updated edition,
Nizet, Paris, 1969, p. 343.

like the patron of the future Letters of some Portuguese, German Jews
and Polish to Mr. de Voltaire, which will begin to appear in 1769.

Pinto's Apology for the Jewish Nation is found to be integrated almost entirely-
rement by Guénée in the text of his Letters devoted to the Jus por-
Tugais. Guénée adds to this a 'Dedicatory Epistle from the editors to Mr. de
'Voltaire', signed by 'three Jews from the vicinity of Utrecht', Joseph Lopez,
Isaac Montenero, and Benjamin Groot, in which he explains that
the purpose of his letters, reflections and comments, was to allow
to the 'greatest genius of the century' to make some corrections in
the new edition of his works, specifying that

if we note in it, in what you have written on the history of the Jews and
on their sacred books, inadvertences and misunderstandings, contradictions
statements and inconsistencies, false assertions, and accusations
slanderous, etc., praise always prevails over criticism (Letters
I, xliv).

While taking care to refute Voltaire, Guénée did not hesitate
not to denounce the philosopher's relentless anti-Semitism:

These Jews are not reckless aggressors who defy your rest-
feelings and bring you joy. Members of a nation
that you have so often outraged, and that you never cease to per-
they pursue with a relentlessness whose cause we do not know, they are bound-
nent to a defence that you have made necessary. (Letters I, xlv).

At a time when apologists seemed unable to cope
to the attacks of the great polemicist of the Enlightenment against the
religion, Abbot Guénée suddenly emerged from the darkness to become-
nir, as Bachaumont pointed out, 'the unfailing defender of the little-
ple jew, and of all that belongs to him'.

When the Letters of Some Jews first appeared
In 1769, without an author's name, they were received very favorably.
in the periodical press of the time. Thus, in the Mercure,
It was noted, 'Several Portuguese and German Jews who have a lot
of wit and literature, dissatisfied with the way in which Mr. de
Voltaire sometimes spoke of their nation, and they undertook to respond
dre..." In the Journal des Savants, the following comment was made:

© Bachaumont, Secret Memoirs, Volume XXVI, p. 351.
15 Mercury, May 1769.

If all polemical works were written in his style,
They would do more credit to their authors, and would be better received.

of the public... authors must be urged to always maintain the tone
of politeness and honesty that reigns in this work, written moreover

in an ingenious and interesting way. ... We know quite well how much
The errors, mistakes, and missteps of famous men are documented.
better. 7

As for the editor of the Literary Year, he could not hide his
enthusiasm for this new critical work by Voltaire: 'These
'These letters, sir, were actually written by Jews,' he wrote.
at the beginning of his report;

These letters, sir, deserve to be read; they contain a great deal
of research, erudition, and wit; one can only urge the authors

to continue their commentary on a portion of Mr. de's writings
Voltaire (AL, II, 26–41).

Even in England, the editor of the Monthly Raew made it a
Highly complimentary review:

The Letters now before us are written with much more decency, poli-
teness, and temper, than are generally to be met with controversy
writings;, they likewise show the authors to be men of learning, can-
hard, and good sense. They treat Voltaire with great respect, but point
out many mistakes, inconsistencies, contradictions and misrepresenta-
tions in what he has advanced concerning the Jews, and the writings
of the Old Testament. In a word, the Hebrew gentlemen defend them-
selves with great ability, and several discuss points related to sacred
history with much erudition and judgment.'?

Naturally, in the Philosophers' camp, this was not shared
I have completely the same opinion about the Letters of Guénée. Grimm wrote in
Literary Correspondence:

Some have resorted to Judaizing in order to defend the Old Testament.
against the cannon of the Ferney citadel, ...if you want to read a
A collection of atrocities and platitudes, read these letters.

As for the main recipient of these Letters from Some Jews, here is this
that he replied to one of his correspondents who asked him if he had

read the book:

17 Journal des savants, July 1769.
18 Monthly Review 41, 1769, pp. 562–563.
1 Literary correspondence, Longchamp, Paris, 1813, volume 6, p. 371.

I don't know Hebrew letters, but according to what you know-
dez, all you have to do is have the author read the Bible to answer that. The impos-
The convulsive tent took too long to perform a miracle.
The fashion has passed, the poor man came too late."

Voltaire was far from imagining, at this stage, that a revival of the Apology
The Jews of Isaac Pinto, through an obscure abbot, could disturb the peace
of her retirement in Ferney, and especially that she would be so successful.
In fact, the work of Guénée, which he would become aware of the following year-
vanity seems to have obsessed the Patriarch of Ferney until the end of
judging by the numerous references to this work,
and to its author, in his Correspondence, as well as in several
of his works such as The Defense of My Uncle, Questions on
The Encyclopedia, the Philosophical Dictionary, A Christian Against Six Jews, and
through his realization that he had an opponent against him
like the others he couldn't get rid of with a sim-
A real joke, just another Fréron!

Indeed, as early as August 1770, before the article 'Fonte' appeared
In volume VI of Questions on the Encyclopedia, Voltaire decided to
to retaliate against Guénée by having it published, under the title 'Fonte: art de
to cast large figures in gold or bronze: answer
to a man who is in a different profession.' This reply on a step-
wise man of the Letters of Genoa concerning the golden calf, was attached to
'God, response to the System of Nature. Voltaire was then well-
Signed on the identity of the author of the Letters of Some Jews:

Mr. Guénée, a former teacher at the Collège du Plessis, who knows a thing or two about it.
doubts more than Mr. Pigalle about the art of casting cast-iron figures, wrote
against these truths in a book entitled Letters from Some Portuguese Jews
and Germans... These letters were written under the names of gentlemen...

Jews Joseph Ben Jonathan, Aaron Mathathai, and David Wincker.?!

And it is in this article, as well as in his letters concerning him,
whom Voltaire nicknamed Guénée 'Mr. Professor, Secretary of the Jews',
'Mr. the secretary of the synagogue' (OC, XIX, 166–67), and also 'the

secretary of the Jews" (Best. D 16576, D 16581). If the Philosopher had

∗ 'Letter to Jacques de Rochefort d'Ally, July 3, 1769', in Voltaire, Correspondence. Definitive edition by Th. Besterman, The Voltaire Foundation, Banbury, 1975, XXXVI ID 721)

?! Voltaire, Complete Works, Moland, ed., Garnier, Paris, 1879, volume XIX, p. 166.

believed he could discourage Father Guénée from continuing to criticize this
that he had written about the Pentateuch and the Jews, he was mistaken, for the
The response from the 'Secretary of the Jews' was not long in coming. Thus, in
the 47th edition of Letters of Some Jews (1776), Guénée devoted the
first part of his 'Short Commentary' on the refutation of the article
Voltaire's 'Fonte' (Letters I, 31054). In his reply, the defender
Jews adopted the same technique as before, which consisted of
He was intent on showering his opponent with praise, in order to better discredit him:

We believe we can work more effectively for your glory by putting you
right before your eyes are the small oversights that escaped you on...

. matters that interest us, and which you sometimes talk about without the
to have deepened (Letters I, 310).

Abbot Guénée systematically dissects Voltaire's article, in
including both scientific and controversial comments
aiming to refute what the Philosopher had written about the melting of the calf
gold, using a variety of tones, easily moving from low to
the playful, the caustic, and the ironic, thus distinguishing himself from the others
apologists of the time. Thus, to Voltaire, who had subtitled his article-
'Answer to a man who is of another profession', Guénée replies-
not without irony:

This title is witty, sir, we agree: but even if it
no one has been more ingenious, and at the same time more truthful, than you
you would have said: 'response to a man who is from another profession... by a
"A man who is in the business," ...because you certainly are, sir,
we notice it first (Letters I, 312).

But he addresses his critic in a much more serious tone,
even provocative, to refute his errors:

It is false, very false, absolutely false that the Exodus, nor any of our
holy books said... that Aaron took only one day or one
only night to cast the golden calf into molten metal (Letters I, 313).

Guénée doesn't mince words when demolishing the assertions.
Voltaire's horsewomen: 'You are making us say the exact opposite of this
that we have said', or again:

No, there is only one foundryman like you, with a vivid imagination,
fertile, poetic like yours, capable of conceiving and
to create a statue that could be seen by Xerxes' entire army
on the move (Letters 1, 317).

The defender of the Jews' clarification is merciless in the face of the
blatant contradictions and errors of the Philosopher:

We challenge you to produce any passage where our holy books have
said, and where we have claimed that Moses ground the calf to powder
gold in a single day. What, always fake! (Letters I, 32829).

He openly ridicules Voltaire's ignorance of chi-
mie, with an amusing quote from the chemist Rouelle, of the Academy
Science:

Mr. de Voltaire is a fine speaker, but with all his fine speech,
He doesn't speak properly when he starts talking about chi-
mie (Letters 1, 337).

And, of course, Father Guénée had a very good opportunity to conclude his commentary.
commentary on the melting of the golden calf with a final ironic touch
than against his opponent:

Were we wrong to say, along with Mr. Rouelle, that chemistry is not your
"Strong." No, sir, it isn't, you must admit. You had gone
searching for weapons in chemists' laboratories, and you
are lost in the crucibles and the matras (Letters I, 339).

Here was a supporter of the Jews who wasn't afraid to speak out against the

venerable Voltaire, who defended the religious tradition of Judaism
with great skill, talent, and even wit. He
showed not only that he was well aware of the pole's weaknesses-
Voltairean mic against the Pentateuch, but also that he was capable-
able to employ the same methods as his opponent, and to us
to make people laugh at the expense of the great master of irony. If Voltaire had
believed he could humiliate Guénée by calling him a mere 'secretary of the
“Jews,” he was mistaken again, for Guénée replied proudly:

But sir, what harm or dishonor would there be if a Christian...
üen, in a cause common to Jews and Christians, would well have
wanted to help us, and to be the secretary of the synagogue for a while-
gogue? (Letters I, 343).

It is therefore easy to imagine that Voltaire, who took offense at
the slightest criticism, he must have been upset to find himself facing, not
not a simple 'Hebrew-speaking' that he could take down with a single stroke
pen, but on the contrary, a high-quality Judeophile polemicist, 'a

*Schwarzbach, op. cit, p. 88.

an opponent of his own caliber, capable of keeping up with him on his own turf,
that of derision, and to maintain the distance from it,” as he very rightly-
Sylviane Albertan-Coppola noted,* even 'a man of wit',
as admitted by the greatest Voltairean of the 20th century, René Pomeau.
Indeed, after the 4th edition of Letters from Some Jews, in three volumes
My, Voltaire wrote to d'Alembert:

The Jewish secretary named Guénée is not without wit and knowledge-
sessions, but 1l is as cunning as a monkey, he bites until he bleeds in
pretending to kiss the hand. He will be bitten in the same way (Best. D
20458).

Note that Fréron had not failed to make a long account-
laudatory review of the third edition of the Letters of Guénée, where he
confirmed the great success of the book:

His extraordinary outburst proves quite clearly that the patriarch's invectives
The brilliance and strength of minds did not prevent the public from...
to recognize the merit. Two editions of three thousand copies each were
taken from Laurent Prault; and here's a third one that's being sold with
the same speed in Moutard (AZ, 1772, II, 291),

And after providing extensive extracts, he wrote in conclusion:

It can be said that of all the barbs launched against the leader of our
incredulous [Voltaire], there are none as thunderous as those of
the author of these Letters attributed to the Jews (AL, 1772, 322).

This same Fréron had also found himself involved, in an unexpected way.
tense, in Voltaire's article 'Fonte'. Indeed, the latter had
replied to Guénée:

You forget which century you're writing in. Your little satire is quite something.

good for the literary donkey, but it's absolutely worthless for the hon-
netés gens un peu inducits (OC, XIX, 468, n. 1).

Consequently, in his 'Short Commentary', Guénée, the defender-
supporter of the Jews, also defended Fréron with the same conviction.
rage, and the same address:

the delicate and pleasant pun that you unleash against a writer
vain periodical that deigned to give a favorable account of our Letters,

#% Coppola, op. cit., p. 100. |
% René Pomeau, 'Voltaire in his time', vol. V, They wanted to bury him, Paris, 1994,
p. #4:

as if he were the only one who had said anything good! So you don't know that,
Of all your periodical writers, there isn't one who hasn't mentioned it.
advantageously. In truth, sir, it seems you only read
The Literary Year: you won't miss a single detail! This Literary Year
is to you what the Jews are; you proclaim everywhere their de-
You deny contempt, and you keep coming back to it! We don't talk so much about this
whom we despise. We do not have the honor of knowing the author of
the literary year, but we read his writings like you, sir, and
we will loudly proclaim that fighting as he has done for so many years
against the twin torrents of irreligion and bad taste, it is to serve-
vir usefulement sa patrie (Letters I, 347-48).

Thus, Guénée publicly allied himself with the most famous adversary of

Voltaire, who had dedicated his career to fighting the principles of...
gereux that philosophers have sought to establish' (AZ, 1761, VI, 126).
And we believe that the 'secretary of the Jews' had succeeded without any
doubt at risk of incurring the hatred of the Philosopher of Ferney by exposing
two of his great obsessions: the first which is universally
attributed to the philosopher, namely his Judeomania, this 'abscess of fixation'
on the history of the Jewish people," as Roland Mortier observed.
and the other, which we will call his 'brotherhood obsession'. Perhaps this is
to which the Prince de Ligne was alluding when he wrote in his
Memoirs:

Mr. de Voltaire only unleashed such a furious attack against Jesus Christ because
that he was born among a nation he abhorred. He was its Fréron,
And that is Mr. de Voltaire's only fault.*

And, the 'secretary of the Jews' who had defended both the Jews and Fréron
against the greatest writer of the Age of Enlightenment could not
to risk becoming the Philosopher's ultimate obsession.
Indeed, in a letter dated November 29, 1777, six months before
At his death, Voltaire was still complaining about the 'six Jews who treated me
like an Amalekite .. ." (Best. D 20877).

When the fourth edition of Letters from Some Jews, in three
volumes, published in 1776, the reports in the periodical press
which were again very favorable. The one that Fréron wrote in
The literary journal L'Année praising Guénée as much as it condemned Voltaire:

* Mortier, op. cit, p. 302.
* Selected Works of the Prince de Ligne, a new critical anthology, Basil Guy, ed., Stanfor
French and Italian Studies 13, Palo Alto, CA, 1978, p. 51.

Although Mr. de Voltaire described these Letters as a bold, poorly-
Honest, good only for tasteless criticism, and not worth
Absolutely nothing for honest, somewhat educated people; although he dealt
Their authors, it seems, are frankly ignorant, imbeciles, hotheads, etc.
However, sir, the public does not always refer to it
to Mr. de Voltaire on the merit of his criticisms, nevertheless continues
to welcome the work of Portuguese Jews. Three editions,
quickly removed, and a fourth one that I announce to you, are the
proof of consistent and lasting success. This success, moreover, is very
deserved; for it is not possible, sir, to raise with more justification
In terms of strength and solidity, the blunders, errors, and countless infidelities
and of every kind, in which Mr. de Voltaire, in the examination he
made of holy books, nor to respond in a more incisive manner and
more decisive to the atrocious and slanderous accusations, of which this writer

vain never ceases to overwhelm the Jewish people (AL, 1776, II, 290).

But, once again, it is Voltaire's reaction that is surprising.
considering the article 'Fonte' that he had published in 1770. Indeed,
Voltaire wrote to d'Alembert twice in succession, on October 22nd and the
November 8, 1776, to ask him to inform him of liden-
title of the author of the Letters. In the first one, he writes:

Please tell me the name of a former rector of the Duplessis college.
author of the three volumes of Letters under the names of some Jews. This
This man is one of the worst Christians, and one of the most insolent who
be in the church of God (Best. 19220).

In the second:

Raton asks you once again to let him know the name of this learned man.
Jansenist who had three voluntarist scientists printed at Moutard's
my enemies against him, under the name of six Jews. He treats me like Antiochus,
He gives me six Maccabees to fight (Best. 19246).

Before receiving a reply from d'Alembert, it was Voltaire himself-
the same person who was supposed to answer his question, in a letter dated the 18th
November 1776 to d'Alembert, where he seems to have remembered the name
which he had forgotten:

Raton is currently playing with the mouse Guénée... I don't know if this
The fight between the cat and the church rat may amuse the spectators (Best.
19260).

d'Alembert's reply will not be sent until November 23 (Best.
19270). The cat/Voltaire had already decided to counter-attack the so-
ris/Guénée in a work he had printed in December 1776,
The Old Man of the Caucasus to the Portuguese, German, and Polish Jews. H the

It was reprinted in 1777 with a new title, One Christian Against Six
Jews, where a refutation of a book entitled Letters from Some Portuguese Jews, alle-
Mandarins and Poles. Guénée had disguised himself as six Jews, Joseph Lopez,
Isaac Montencro, Benjamin Groot, Joseph Ben Jonathan, Aaron
Mathathaï, David Wincker, and Voltaire in turn disguised himself, but
This time, as a Christian. Voltaire perhaps wanted to have the last word.
in this long polemic with the 'Secretary of the Jews', and 1l pre-

he put down his pen to 'a Christian' who wanted to 'plead the cause of a man' horribly accused and humiliated, and who lacks the strength to defend himself. (OC, XIX, 501). The reception of this refutation of the Letters of Guénée was hardly enthusiastic, if we are to believe the account that the author of the Secret Memoirs:

We're angry that he's proving himself infinitely inferior to his rival, aren't we? only for erudition, for the strength of the evidence and the dialectic ticklish, but for the tone of moderation, honesty, and politeness, from which he never deviates. The philosopher of Ferney touches on everything. in his own way, and often substitutes sarcasm, quodhbet, lPordure to the reasoning, and despite this help, one can assure that his diatribe It's no more fun than it is; in fact, it's boring and gives way to... Again, in this respect, see the Apology of Abbot Guénée, which is solid and illuminating. instructive and, despite its length, a pleasure to read."

René Pomeau confirmed this harsh judgment with his objectivity. customary when he wrote: 'the public of 1777, jaded, expects nothing more from the philosopher of Ferney. Too much has already been said.* And it was again Guénée, who had the pleasure of refuting One Christian against six Jews, in the 'Short Commentary' from the 5th edition of his Letters from Some Jews, which appeared after Voltaire's death. He does it with the same mood, the same moderation, the same determination, and the same sagacity than before:

We have finally read it, sir, this formidable brochure which was supposed to, It was said that she could refute our three volumes in just a few pages. We read it, and the fear we were instilled with soon dissipated. This old man who still has a way with words, jokes more than he reasons, and your new- These assertions are little more than further misunderstandings (Letters II, 295),

Bachaumont, Secret Memoirs, Volume X, p. 156 (May 31, 1777).
*# R. Pomeau, Voltaire in his time, vol. V, p. 182.

While he never loses sight of the fact that his comment is addressed to the most a great writer of the century, and if he does not hesitate in his conclusion to to pay him homage: 'enjoy your glory, reign in the empire' Letters through talent, in your countryside through kindness. 'May your lands be an open refuge for the unfortunate' (Letters III, 294), Guénée nonetheless asserts his right to defend the Jews, 'prin- "especially when it comes to Jews," he said, "one must examine before..." to believe that, great man that you are, you have your distractions, your prejudices and your errors" (Letters III, 293).

Ultimately, Fréron and Guénée were adversaries of
size which, each in its own way, caused considerable harm to
Patriarch of Ferney, and who valiantly defended the Jews against
the Philosopher's massive attack, one in his Literary Year, the other
in his Letters from some Portuguese, German, and Polish Jews, and they deserve-
They both hope for a better fate than eighteenth-century criticism suggests.
reserved. Both succeeded in forcing Voltaire to march
back more often than he would have liked, defending his anti-Semitism
Daism, and even to declare to the Jews of Genoa, with its irony
usual: 'You should know that I have never hated your nation.
I hate no one, not even Fréron' (OC, XIX, 526). Nature
The philosemitism of Guénée and Fréron could be debated,
of course, because as David Katz rightly noted, 'philosemitism,
like its opposite number, is admittedly an ambiguous term', but
we have neither the time nor the intention to do so, as we
we did not want to be drawn into a pointless discussion
on Voltaire's antisemitism. The Jews of the 18th century had
fortunately found among these two enlightened anti-philosophers some-
quality herbalists who prepared public opinion for the period
revolutionary.

% David S. Katz, 'The Phenomenon of Philosemitism', Studies in Church History
29, London, 1992, p. 327.

COMMUNITY AND EXCLUSION IN ROUSSEAU AND
VOLTAIRE: THE CASE OF THE JEWS*

Harvey Chisick

At first glance it may seem odd to undertake a comparison of the
attitudes of Rousseau and Voltaire toward the Jews. The subject is
one that Voltaire treated repeatedly and at length, and his state-
ments on it have received extensive scholarly attention.! Rousseau,
on the other hand, spoke of the Jews only rarely, and his views on
this subject, less dramatic and less paradoxical than those of Voltaire,
have not attracted much comment.” Yet, if we leave aside the mate-
ialist and atheist currents of Enlightenment thought, these two
thinkers together sum up much of what that movement stood for.
And if they fundamentally disagreed in their perceptions of the Jews,
as they did, an analysis of these differences should contribute to our
understanding of notions of community, inclusion and exclusion dur-
ing the Enlightenment.

* T would like to thank Menachem Kellner, Bertram Schwarzbach, Peter Sorek
and Sam W. Bloom for having read and helpfully commented on an earlier ver-
sion of this article.

! See, for example, Peter Gay, 'Voltaire's Antisemitism', in his Party of Humanity: Essays in the French Enlightenment, Knopf, New York, 1964, pp. 97–108. Arthur Hertzberg, The French Enlightenment and the Jews, Columbia UP, New York, 1968. Roland Desné, 'Voltaire and the Jews: Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism, Regarding the Philosophical Dictionary, in For a Qualitative History: Studies Offered to S. Stelhing-Mic Geneva, 1975, and 'Was Voltaire an anti-Semite?' La Pensée, 203, 1979, pp. 70–81]. Jacob Katz, 'Judaism and the Jews as seen by Voltaire', Dispersion and Unity, 18, 1978, pp. 135–49. Allan Arkush, 'Voltaire on Judaism and Christianity', A7S Renew, 18, 1993, p. 223–43. Arnold Ages, 'Tainted Greatness: The Case of Voltaire's Anti-semitism, The Testimony of the Correspondence', Neokehcon, 21, 1994, pp. 357–67. Charles Porset, 'Voltaire and the Jews', The Dreyfus Affair: Jews in France. Symposium International de Mulhouse, Besançon, 1994, pp. 79–104. BE Schwarzbach, 'Voltaire and the Jews: Assessment and plea', in Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol 358, 1998, pp. 27–91. Ronald Schechter, 'Rationalizing the Enlightenment: Post-'Modernism and Theories of Anti-Semitism', Historical Reflections: Historical Reflections, 25, 1999, pp. 279–306, and H. Chisick, 'Ethics and History in Voltaire's Attitudes toward the Jews', Eighteenth-Century Studies, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 577–600.

2? One of the few direct treatments of Rousseau and the Jews is B. Baczko, 'Moses, legislator..” in Reappraisals of Rousseau: Studies in Honor of RA. Lagh, edited by S. Harvey, M. Hobson, D. Kelley and SSB, Manchester UP, Taylor, 1980, pp. DIMeES50.

Since the differences in outlook and temperament between Voltaire and Rousseau are so well known, it is perhaps worthwhile to recall what they had in common. Both were great stylists who produced fiction as well as philosophical works, and both were among the most popular authors of their day. Both were seriously interested m the sciences, in Voltaire's case, Newtonian physics, and in Rousseaur's, botany. Neither, however, was a materialist. Together with virtually all members of the enlightened community, both men accepted the basic premises of Lockc's psychology. Both were firm deists, accept-ing the argument from design, which, to many, followed necessarily from Newton's physics, and both conceived religion primarily in eth-ical terms. And both, though Voltaire pre-eminently, were critical of many aspects of revealed religions. Both were profoundis humani-tarian in their outlooks, though Voltaire more often gave his human-itarianism practical and immediate application, as in his campaign to restore the good name of Jean Calas, his efforts on behalf of the Chevalier de La Barre, and his struggles to reform the legal system and to achieve a larger degree of tolerance.

These similarities certainly are substantial, and they justify our regarding the two men as belonging to the same movement. Aim they cannot obscure the very real differences between them, and well-known though these are, it is perhaps worth recalling the more relevant for our purposes.

In their life experiences the two men could hardly have differed more. Voltaire was born in 1694 into a comfortable family that was able to provide him with the material comforts and educational opportunity reserved for the well-off. Rousseau came into the world 18 years after Voltaire, and as he states in his Confessions, 'cost his mother her life' at his birth. As a child Voltaire received the private lessons normal for the son of a successful notarv mn Paris. During a comparable phase of his development, Rousseau was reading Plutarch and novels at his father's workbench. When his father found it prudent to leave Geneva, Jean-Jacques stayed with an uncle for a time, and then boarded for several years with his cousin at the home of the Protestant pastor Lambercicr just outside Geneva. While as a youth Voltaire was given the opportunity of acquiring a discipline phned training in Latin grammar and classical literature under the direction of the Jesuit fathers of Louis-le-Grand, probably the best

trained and most effective teachers in Europe at the time, Rousseau was set to learn the craft of engraving under a master who was probably no more brutal than most, but still more than sufficiently barsh to horrify a sensitive youth such as Jean-Jacques.

Voltaire refused to accept the career in the law that his parents had chosen for him, and was fortunate in making the transition to his chosen vocation of literature with ease. He established himself as to leading dramatist and poet at an early age, and was soon moving in aristocratic circles far above those of his respectable, but still middle-class, family. His drama, Oedipus, played successfully in 1718, when Rousseau was six years old, and he published the Henriade, an epic poem that won him what is today regarded as greatly exaggerated gerated reputation as a poet, in 1728. This same year the adolescent Rousseau fled Geneva and entered upon a life that included vagrancy and menial employments such as valet and tutor. young Rousseau, whose remarkable natural abilities might easily have gone uncultivated, was saved from poverty and dissipation by Mme. de Warrens, a complicated and ambiguous figure whom he puts in the course of his conversion to Catholicism. She offered him both emotional support and the opportunity of educating himself while he stayed with her at the modest but comfortable country house, Les Charmettes, she rented near Chambéry. It was here, between 1733 and 1739, that Rousseau had the leisure, and the sense to use that leisure constructively, to lay the foundations for becoming one of the most perceptive and penetrating minds of his generation. During the 1740's he spent most of his time in Paris, living im part as a bohemian intellectual and in part as a young man who could be trusted with responsible secretarial and related duties by members of the Parisian elite. However, he remained largely unknown until he won the prize of the Academy of Dijon in 1750 for what

became known as his First Discourse. By this time Voltaire was moving in the highest social and political circles in Europe.

The title by which the First Discourse is generally known is Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts. In it Rousseau criticized the arts and science ences for exacting an excessive price in terms of human well-being. He argued that learning was inseparable from moral corruption and social injustice. Rousseau never deviated from this position, and m elaborating it he became probably the most influential critic of European civilization of his time. Voltaire, by contrast, regarded learning as a civilizing force. In his poem Ze Mondan, he defended

luxury and pleasure against the more austere morality advocated by Rousseau and his many admirers. While Rousseau thought m terms of fundamental moral reform of society, Voltaire aspired to graduate ally climatizing the worst abuses, and meanwhile living as comfortably as possible. Voltaire was once of the most brilliant defenders of civilization of his time, Rousseau probably its most profound critic.

In their approaches to the world the two men also differed fundamentally, and this is reflected in their styles. Voltaire focuses on the surfaces of things. He has a particularly sharp eye for incongruitics and contradictions, and he demonstrates superlative skill in holding them up to ridicule. He is as incisive as he is hilarious, and is rightly seen as one of the great satirists, not only of the eighteenth century, but of all time. Rousseau, on the other hand, has little humor. His writing is characterized by a high seriousness. and his gaze focuses on issues of inwardness. What it means to be a good man, a responsible citizen, a being standing in an appropriate relationship tionship to his or her Creator are all, for Rousseau. primarilv questions of moral integrity. His quest was one for harmony and integration. Voltaire had more modest aspirations: to reduce gratuitous suffering. to limit the damage done by prejudice and ignorance, to make life locker by hghtening the burdens that all necessarily bear. thought he did not believe that the human condition could be fundamental tally changed, he thought that it could and should be improved.

Both Voltaire and Rousseau placed great emphasis on the value Of humanity, which was central to the ethical thought of the Enlightenment ment. Both men further regard basic moral values as universally applicable. But there is a significant difference in the weighting of the universal and particular in the two thinkers. It is not, I think, fair to portray Voltaire as a simple-minded believer in natural law and universally bmding cthics. There are simply too many passages in the Essai sur les mœurs and elsewhere in which he explicitly considers and recognizes the relativity of laws and morals to make this tenable view.” However, it probably is correct to sav that for Voltaire

∗ Voltaire regarded the laws of nature as universally applicable, and he saw in the passions and in reason human characteristics of all times and places. This is not to say, however, that he was unaware of cultural and historical differences. Time, he says repeatedly, changes all things: 'How much everything changes in men! How much what was false becomes true according to the times.' (Essay on manners, ed.

René Pomeau, Garnier, 2 vols., Paris, 1990, chap. xxxi, vol. [, p. 417; see also ibid.

the universal and timeless characteristics of human nature shape society and history, and it is to this criterion that he looks in evaluating specific societies or historical periods, even though he recognizes the specificity of different ages and civilizations.

For Rousseau, on the other hand, the process of socialization is essenual in the formation of individuals. He recognizes that all peo- ple are equally human and should have certain fundamental rights, but he does not think it possible to achieve humanity in any of its forms without mediation. It is the society which educates us and inculcates its values in us that forms us as citizens or subjects and so shapes our humanity. For Rousseau, one's identity as citizen or member of a society is primary, one's membership in humanity, while an unquestioned fact with moral implications, secondary. It is not that Rousseau in any way devalues humanity as a category, it is only that he sees the society to which one belongs as having a vastly more immediate and powerful effect on the formation and lives of its members, so that in practical terms it is in and through the polities and cultures to which we belong that our characters are formed. This is the sense in which Rousseau's lament on the lack of identity among his contemporaries in the first book of Ænule∗ should be read, and this is the issue at the heart of Rousseau's disagreement- comment with Diderot over the article 'Natural Law' in the Encyclopedia.

Though Voltaire and Rousseau were both convinced deists, and

xü, I, p. 309). In general, Voltaire asserts that 'Everything is revolution in the gou- verments. . ” (bid., xxxü, I, p. 423) and more particularly with respect to an ill- timed attempt to restore the old government of Rome that 'what in a time is an enterprise of heroes becomes in others a revolt of seditious people' (#14. xxxvi, I, p. 437; similarly see thid., cxliü, II, p. 321). With respect to the Jews, he notes that if the customs of the Hebrew Scriptures seem strange to moderns, they were nevertheless appropriate to their time and place (Treatise on Tolerance, ed. René Pomeau, Flammarion, Paris, 1989, chap. xü, p. 89). Conversely, biblical customs and laws were inappropriate to the modern world, for, as Voltaire forcefully puts it, 'It cannot be stressed enough that these times and customs have no relation to ours” (1b1d., xt, p. 94).

'He who, in the civil order, wishes to preserve the primacy of the sentiments of the Nature doesn't know what it wants. Always contradicting itself, always wavering between his inclinations and his duties, he will never be either a man or a citiz It will be good neither for him nor for others. He will be one of those men of our days: a Frenchman, an Englishman, a Bourgeois; it will be nothing.' Rousseau, Emule, in Complete Works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, eds., (Pléïade, 4 vols., Paris, 1964-69), vol. IV, pp. 249-250. Henceforth cited as OC with volume and page numbers.

so agrecd on many of the fundamentals of their religious thought, they also differ in important ways. Voltaire's approach to religion owed much to critical deism, and continued the attack on the biblical foundations of revealed religions in order to delegitimize them. Flight- silence achieved a high degree of expertise in biblical scholarship for his time, and he wielded his formidable knowledge, together with his superlative rhetorical skills, like a rapier. He tirelessly chronicled the impossibilities, improbabilities, incongruities, intolerance, immorality ties and brutalities of Hebrew and Greek Scriptures alike in order to undermine the foundations on which Judaism and Christianity based their authority. There can be no doubt that Voltaire's erudi- tion was immense, though sometimes misguided, that his intentions were humanitarian, and that his work was primarily one of destruction tion. It is in the context of his criticisms of the Bible that many of his harshest comments on the Jews appear. e

To judge from his published work, Rousseau was not much inter- ested in biblical criticism. His most comprehensive treatment of reli- gion, the Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar in Book IN of Emule, seeks to establish on the basis of a dualist metaphysic the existence tence of a divine Creator and an ethic of benefit that this Creator requires mankind to follow. Whether one finds the philosophy of this confession of faith convincing or not, it is surely one of the most moving expressions of religious sentiment to be found in any enhight- ened writer. Further, in seeking to establish on basis for religious belief the Profession of Faith is positive in tone and content. It contains little polemic, and such polemic as appears there is directed pri- marily against atheism, not revealed religion.

Given their broadly divergent views of religion and society, then, there is good reason to expect that Voltaire and Rousseau would adopt different attitudes toward the Jews. Whether they im fact do so, and just what these differences consist in, can only be determined after examining their statements about this people. Methodologically, however, making such a comparison is problematic. In the case of Voltaire, he has so much to say about the Jews in so many difierents contexts that it is not possible to cite and discuss all even of his

∗ On Voltaire as a biblical critic see BE Schwarzbach, Voltaire's Old Testament Cnhaism, Droz, Geneva, 1971, and David Levy, 'Voltaire and his exegesis of the Pentateuch: 'critique et polémique', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. 130, 1975.

major comments on them. Rousseau, by contrast, refers to Jews infrequently mently. While, therefore, it is possible to be fairly inclusive in treating Rousseau's statements about Jews, it will be necessary to be selective with respect to Voltaire. In that there is an extensive secondary literature on Voltaire's attitudes toward the Jews, and since I have selected for treatment here passages that have received considerable attention from scholars, and so can fairly be seen as representful, it is not unreasonable to hope that treating only a few passages from Voltaire will not seriously distort our findings.

He

T will cite only three passages from Voltaire that treat the Jews. Tea first is from the Essai sur les mœurs, the great universal history at which Voltaire labored for more than twenty years, and which he revised constantly. The second is a much cited and much discussed letter that Voltaire wrote in 1762 to Isaac Pinto, a Jew of Amsterdam. The third is from one of his few clearly philosophical-semitic works, a brief pamphlet entitled Sermon du Rabbi Akb, which also dates from 1762.

The passage from the Æssai sur les mœurs contains many of the central themes in Voltaire's treatment of the Jews, and is characteristically ambiguous. It is the concluding paragraph of the only chapter of that vast work devoted explicitly to the Jews, and reads as follows:

You are struck by this hatred and contempt that all nations have always had against the Jews: it is the inevitable consequence of their legislation lation; they either had to subjugate everything or be crushed. They were ordered to abhor the nations∗ and to consider themselves defiled would have been harmed if they had eaten from a dish that had belonged to a man of another law. They called the nations twenty to thirty villages, their neighbors, whom they wanted to exterminate, and they believed that it was necessary to have nothing in common with them. When their eyes were a little opened by other victorious nations, who taught them that the The world was bigger than they thought, they found, through their law itself, natural enemies of these nations, and ultimately of humankind. Their absurd policy persisted when it should have changed; their super- Their turmoil increased with their misfortunes: their conquerors were increasingly concise; it does not seem any more permissible for a Jew to eat from a dish

which had served a Roman only on the plate of an Amorite. They
They retained their customs, which are precisely the opposite of the customs
sociable; they were therefore rightly treated as an opposing nation

in everything to others; serving them out of avarice, hating them out of fanaticism,
making usury a sacred duty. And these are our fathers! *Deuteronomy,
VII, 16 [Voltaire's note].°

In 1762 a Dutch Jew wrote to Voltaire to protest some of the
philosophers criticisms of the Jews in one of his pamphlets. Voltaire
responded with a characteristic blend of magnanimity and conde-
scension:

I will tell you with the same frankness that many people cannot
They will suffer neither your laws, nor your books, nor your superstitions; they say that
The nation has always done itself a great deal of harm, and has
done to humankind. If you are a philosopher, as you appear
You think like these gentlemen, but you won't say it.
Superstition is the most abominable scourge on earth; it is what
of all time has had so many Jews and Christians slaughtered; it is she
who send you to the stake again among otherwise respectable peoples.
There are aspects in which human nature is infernal nature-
nale. We would be horrified if we always looked at it from those angles.
But honest people, passing through the Place de Grève where they are broken on the wheel,
They tell their coachman to go quickly, and go to the opera to entertain themselves.
awful tackle they saw on the way.

I could argue with you about the sciences you attribute to them.
to the ancient Jews, and to show you that they knew no more than the
French from the time of Chilperic; I could convince you that
the jargon of a small province, mixed with Chaldean, Phoenician and
Arabic was a language as impoverished and as harsh as our ancient
Gauls, but I might upset you, and you seem too much to me
gallant man, that I would wish to displease you. Remain Jewish, since
You are, you will not slaughter forty-two thousand men for
not having pronounced shibboleth correctly, nor twenty-four thousand for having
You slept with Midianites; but be philosophical, that's all you need to do.
I can only wish you better things in this short life.

In a short pamphlet he published anonymously, Voltaire puts an
imaginary specch into the mouth of a Rabbi who has just heard of
an auto-da-fé held in Portugal in which 37 of his co-religionists were
burned. 'Fhe Rabbi Akib, positing to Christian audience, asks:

What would you say if I told you: Your God was of our
religion? He was born Jewish, he was circumcised like all other Jews; he
received, by your admission, the baptism of the Jew John, who was an ancient

$ EM, cü, II p. 64.
7 Voltaire to Isaac Pinto, 21 July 1762. In Correspondence de Voltaire, edited by Theodore Besterman, vol. 25, pp. 120–121. Letter D10600.

ceremony to which we subject our neophytes; he performs all
the duties of our ancient law, he lived a Jew, died a Jew, and you us
Burn us, because we are Jews.

I attest to this from your own books: Did Jesus say in only one place
Was the Law of Moses either bad or false? Did he abolish it? His
Were not the first disciples circumcised? Did not Peter abstain?
not meats forbidden by our law, when he ate with the
Israelites? Paul, being an apostle, did he not himself circumcise some-
one of his disciples? This Paul, would he not sacrifice in our time?
ple, according to your own writings? What else were you in the
beginning that a part of ourselves, which has separated with
The weather?

Despite the overwhelmingly sympathetic treatment Voltaire here accords the Jews, he has his spokesperson say that 'We [the Jews]| we have been a barbaric, superstitious, ignorant, absurd people, I admit; but Would it be right to go and burn the Pope and all the monsignors today? from Rome, because the first Romans abducted the Sabine women and stripped the Samnites?”

While Voltaire's constant emphasis im treating the Hebrew Scriptures was to further the critical deist project of invalidating the Bible, Rousseau's much less frequent references to the Jews of that period were animated by basically different interests. What Rousseau found remarkable in the biblical narrative was the success and effectiveness of Moses in forming a cohesive and viable people. He describes Moses, together with Lycurgus and Numa, as the ancient legislators whose work merited 'particular attention', and says of them 'All three have had successes that would be considered impossible, if they were less attested'.!! In a text not published during his lifetime, Rousseau suggests gestured that in one respect Moses was even more successful than other ancient lawgivers. He says of the Jewish people that despite being scattered, dispersed, and persecuted, it was nevertheless able to preserves:

. its customs, its laws, its morals, its patriotic love and its pre-

The first social union when all ties appear broken.
The Jews present us with this astonishing spectacle: the laws of Solon, of Numa,
Lycurgus's are dead, those of Moses, much more ancient, live

8 Sermon of Rabbi Akib, in Voltaire: Mixtures, Jacques Van den Heuvel, ed. Pleiade,
Fans 1005 pp 4515152

UC SES |

10 Rousseau, Considerations on the Government of Poland, chap. 2 in OC, IT, p. 956.

They always mingle with all the celebrities and never blend in.
Never; they no longer have leaders and their people are still there, they no longer have
of their homeland and are still citizens."

The tone of this passage and its sympathy for outsiders is also found
in one of Rousseau's best known works, in which he expresses his
admiration for both Moses and Mohammed as legislators who have
shown genius through the durability of their creations."

Rousseau's comments on contemporary Jews also differ significantly
from those of Voltaire. In one of his more sustained passages on
This subject he writes about:

Do you know many Christians who have taken the trouble to ex-
Carefully examine what Judaism alleges against them? If some
Some have seen something of it; it's in the books of the Christians. Good
a way to learn about their opponents' reasons! But how?
What to do? If anyone among us dares to publish books that favor-
If Judaism were openly professed, we would punish the Author, the Publisher, the
Bookseller. This font is convenient and reliable for always being right.
There is pleasure in refuting people who dare not speak.

Those of us who are able to converse with Jews do not
are hardly any further along. The unfortunate feel at our discretion; the
The tyranny exerted against them makes them fearful; they know how much
Little do injustice and cruelty cost Christian charity; what will dare-
They can say this without risking accusations of blasphemy? Greed...
It instills zeal, and they are too rich not to be wrong. The most
The most learned among scholars are always the most circumspect. You con-
will expose some wretch paid to slander his sect; you will
talk to some vile ragpickers who will give in to flatter you; you tri-
understand their ignorance or cowardice while their Doctors
will smile silently at your ineptitude. - But do you believe that in the
In places where they would feel safe, they were also treated with such leniency?

At the Sorbonne it is as clear as day that the Messiah's predictions
relate to Jesus Christ. Among the Rabbis of Amsterdam it is all
It's as clear as they have absolutely no connection to it. I'll never believe it.
having clearly understood the reasons why the Jews did not want a free state,
schools, universities where they can speak and argue without risk.
Only then will we be able to know what they have to say!*

It is worth noting that Roussecau's statement here concerns the Jews
of his own time, not those of the biblical period.

Rousseau, 'Political Fragments', in OC, III, p. 499.
© Rousseau, The Social Contract, Bk. IX, chap. 7: OC IT; bp: 584
de Rousseau, Emile in OC, IV, pp. 620–621.

II

The first passage cited from Voltaire contains a criticism of the exclu-
sive and intolerant ethics and practices of biblical Judaism, and reflects
many of the standard features of Greco-Roman anti-Semitic discourse.
It assumes that Jews of 15th century and later have retained this
ethic, and that Jews still practiced, and were still characterized by,
the original harshness of the Mosaic code. Nevertheless, this passage
concludes with recognition of the relatedness of Jews and Christians.
The second passage reiterates the criticism of Jewish culture, but
invites Pinto to be a philosopher while reaming a Jew. In the third
passage cited, the Jews are portrayed as victims of persecution, and
as such, they benefit not only from Voltaire's sympathy, but also
from the intense indignation he felt on behalf of the persecuted.!*
Though coming from very different kinds of documents, these pas-
wise people have a number of things in common. First, none of them
would, as they stood, have appealed to convinced anti-Semites. Even
the first one, which is a veritable catalog of classical antisemitics
charges, has its potential antisemitic content subverted by the acknowledgment-
edgement of Jewish paternity of Christianity. Secondly, Voltaire's
emphasis in each of these passages is on behavior and ethics, not
breed. Persecution and fanaticism are bad things whether practiced
or suflered by Jews or anyone else. Thirdly, all of these passages are
to a degree ambivalent. À tension is created by the main theme of
each section being offset by an opposing idea or comment: the aso-
cial and barbarous Jews of the Bible are the fathers of Christianity;
the philosophical Jew Pinto, Voltaire assures himself, will not com-
mit mass murder in the fashion of his forebears;” and the imagination

One of the participants in the conference on Community and Exclusion held
at the University of Haifa in March 2001 asked during a question period what the
panellists thought Voltaire's reaction to the Dreyfus Affair might have been. At the

time Ï did not appreciate how incisive this question was. For it brings together a recognition that Voltaire often said harsh and uncomplimentary things about the Jews, and awareness of his role as one of the great campaigners against abuses of justice. On reflection, I find it inconceivable that Voltaire could have been anything-thing but a Dreyfusard, which is to say that [cannot conceive of him using an ethnic prejudice to justify what he knew to be a miscarriage of justice.

5 Peter Gay, in citing this passage to show Voltaire's acceptance of the Jews, was apparently troubled by the gratuitous and nasty reference to the two biblical slaughters, and discreetly replaced them with three periods ('Voltaire's Antisemitismr, p. 108). Gay did not, I think, do violence to the sense of the passage, but his emen-

rabbi of Salonica who so eloquently put the case against religious persecution is made to admit that his people were 'barbarous... superstitious, ignorant, absurd". It is as if Voltaire is incapable of saying anything kind or generous without offsetting it with a sting-ing or incongruous comment. But then sardonic irony was charac-teristic of his prose and of his view of the world.

There is, too, considerable irony in the passage cited from Emule. Rousseau expresses his indignation at the use by Christians of their greater force to intimidate the Jews in the free expression of their beliefs. He ironically congratulates the Christians for having found a 'sure policy for always being right', and observes that 'There is a pleasure in refuting people who do not dare to speak'. The use of irony in Rousseau, which is in any case restrained, serves a diflerent purpose than it does for Voltaire.

For reasons that relate both to his life experience and his ethics, Rousseau generally identified with the weak, the vulnerable and the oppressed. His strong and obvious sympathy for contemporary Jews followed from his perception that they were forced into a prejudice cial situation simply because of their weakness. In Rousseau's polit-ical theory equality was of major importance not in its own right, but because it was the condition upon which a just and legitimate polity depended, and without which it could not exist. When unequal-ity passed certain bounds, relations of mastery and servitude replaced those of independence and citizenship, and legitimacy was destroyed.!? Rousseau's heartfelt demand that the Jews be restored to politics independence ('a free state') and establish appropriate cultural insti-tutions (schools and universities) to articulate their views recognizes the interrelatedness of power and culture, and refuses to accept as valid views that must necessarily reflect the conditions of subservience from which they derive. This in not, I think, a speaifically philo-semitic position. Rather, it is a matter of fairness. Rousseau applies the basic principles of his political thought to the Jews as he would to any conquered or oppressed people, and im their case, as in oth-ers, validates freedom and independence.

One of the reasons [think Voltaire was broadly unsympathetic

dation of the text does deprive us of an opportunity to appreciate Voltaire's often uncomfortable sense of humor.

Rousseau, Social Contract, Bk. I, chap. 9, and Bk. IL, chap. 4.

to the Jews is that he identified with the dominant sectors of society
ety, whether in his treatment of the ancient world, or in his own
üme. Voltaire had little faith in the common people, and little respect
for them," and the Jews with their irrationalism and culture of dependence
dence were very much 'people'. Rousseau had read the classics but
remained to a considerable degree independent of their prejudices.
Voltaire read them and internalized the rational outlook and aris-
tocratic values with which they were imbued. His disdain for the
ignorance, superstition and brutality of the poor and working pop-
ulations of all times and places was comprehensive. What made the
Jews offensive to Voltaire were the same things that made other peo-
ples or religious groups offensive to him: superstition, intolerance,
exclusivity and brutality. Examined from a rationalist and utilitarian
tarian perspective, the Hebrew Scriptures do not show well, some-
thing that Voltaire pointed out repeatedly, indeed, almost obsessively.

Another reason that Voltaire and Rousseau differed in their evaluation
uation of the Jews concerns their views of the nature of society.
Rousseau, we saw above, praised Moses for having formed a cohe-
sive and viable people through its legislation. He doesn't go into
the specifics of the Mosaic code, as Voltaire often does, because to
him the central question is not whether some custom or ritual was
originated by another people of the ancient Near East. Rather, what
amazed Rousseau, and what he admired, was the creation of a coher-
ent people and national culture that was able to survive for millennia.
This is because Rousseau saw as problematic what Voltaire and
many liberals took for granted.

Voltaire regarded the existence of society as a given that did not
require explanation. People were by nature gregarious and mutually
dependent so they naturally formed societies. The question for Voltaire
was how these societies were organized, what principles they worked
on, and what degrees of security and well-being they provided for
their members.!* For Rousseau, on the other hand, the basic question

7 Roland Mortier, 'Voltaire and the people', in Brumfitt, Barber et al., The Age of Enlightenment: Studies Presented to Theodore Besterman, London and Edinburgh, 1967, pp.

ISRIOIE

18 Voltaire and Montesquieu denied that a social contract was necessary to establish
lish society. See Voltaire, EM, vü, I, pp. 23–25, and Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, art.
'Politics', and Montesquieu, ∗The Spirit of the Woods∗, book I, chapters 1–2. Rousseau not
only regarded a social contract, or a legislator, as necessary for the foundation of

was the origin of society and the polity. In the Second Discourse he posited a primal humanoid that lived in isolation and independence in the natural environment. Far from assuming that the family was a natural formation, he regarded it as a social construct that required appropriate conditions and long expansions of time to emerge.

Organized societies took far longer to develop. The Second Discourse ends with a description of the foundation of an exploitative and oppressive society on the basis of a fraudulent social contract. This was, more or less, the civil society of the eighteenth century, namely an aggregate of individuals pursuing their interests within the Hmits of law. So conceived, this society was little more than a framework in which individuals could move with relative security and ease. Voltaire accepted this society in principle, but sought to modify it by removing abuses and reforming it along liberal and humanitarian lines. Rousseau aspires to more. In his view society was more than a utilitarian mechanism. It was the means by which men (Rousseau's language here is intentionally gendered), by becoming citizens, could leave behind their isolated, natural, sub-human existences and real-
"ize their humanity."

The creation of such a society entailed the citizen taking heavy responsibilities upon himself and concomitantly enjoining rights the exercise of which was often just as onerous. But beyond the obligation ation to defend one's country and the right of participation directly in the processes of legislation and administration, the policy estab-
lished by Rousseau's social contract effected at fundamental change in those participating in it. Rousseau describes the work of the leg-
islator as follows:

He who dares to undertake the establishment of a people must feel capable to change, so to speak, human nature; to transform each individual, who in himself is a perfect and solitary whole, partly from a greater whole from which this individual somehow receives his life and his being; to alter the constitution of man in order to strengthen it; of

a society, he ascribed to the contract a vital transformative function (Social Contract, Bk. I, chap. 8, and Bk. IT, chap. 7). Locke also posited to contract to account for Man's emergence from the state of nature, but this contract applied to humanity

in its early stages, not to individual societies, and its function was to ensure the right of consent to the people. It was little more than a convenient mechanism.

See Judith Shklar, Men and Citizens: A Study of Rousseau's Social Theory, Cambridge UP, 1985, for an incisive analysis of the unresolvable tension between nature and citizenship in Rousseau's thought.

to substitute a partial and moral existence for physical existence and independent that we have all received from nature. It is necessary, in one word, that it takes away from man his own strength in order to give him something which are foreign to him and which he cannot use without the help of others.'

By a sort of political alchemy, Rousseau here advocates the full integration of the individual into society, or polity, as the condition of the establishment of a legitimate state that will recognize the rights of all its members. Rousseau respects Moses because he sees in him one of the great political alchemists in history, a lawgiver who succeeded in founding a nation that has survived and maintained its identity longer than any other on record?! This is what caught Rousseau's attention. What caught Voltaire's was the way adherents to the Mosaic code persisted in customs and attitudes that deviated from classical and enlightened norms.

IV

Perhaps the most fundamental reason for the different attitudes of Voltaire and Rousseau toward the Jews relates to their varying valuations of universalism and particularism. Voltaire believed firmly in the immediate applicability of values such as humanity, natural law and reason. Rousseau accepted the desirability and validity of these values, but did not think that they were immediately applicable. In his view it was not feasible to move directly from the individual to categories such as humanity. Specific societies were a necessary intermediary link that could not be overlooked or circumvented. For Voltaire, on the other hand, the values of given polities or societies were historical accidents that were of no positive worth if they deviated ated from universally applicable values such as reason or benefit. This difference is particularly well illustrated in an exchange between Diderot and Rousseau.

In the fifth volume of the Encyclopédie, which appeared in 1755,

2 Rousseau, Social Contract, Bk. IL, chap. 7; OC, IL, 381. For a similar state-

ment on the contrast between the natural and social states see Emile, Book E OC, IVADANte ..

2 For a fully documented and impressively argued formulation of this view, see

Baczko, 'Moses the legislator . . ∗, pp. 122–129.

Diderot published a characteristically brilliant article entitled "Natural Law'. Diderot's main concern in this article was to find a principle of authority that could convincingly invalidate the premises of radical individualism. The importance of this argument for Diderot, which he puts into the mouth of an 'unjust and impassioned man', is to ensure for the Enlightenment a cohesive social ethic which he and many advanced thinkers saw threatened by the rehabihtauon of self-interest. Diderot has no trouble demonstrating that radical egoism will result in 'terror and confusion' and that the logic of this position is self-defeating. He asserts that reason is essential to, and constitutive of, humanity, and then proceeds to reintroduce the category of justice, which the appeal to narrow, unenlightened self-interest and to force have rendered superfluous. So far, this is a fair traditional sort of argument. Diderot introduces a new element into it by making of mankind as a whole the reference group for his notion of justice. He also suggests that the principles of universal justice are to be found in the 'general will' of mankind, which he discussed in considerable detail.” Whether Voltaire would have subwritten to every detail of Diderot's account cannot be determined. However, he would certainly have accepted a universalized concept of humanity as a criterion for ethics.

Rousseau accepted part of Diderot's argument, but not all of it. interestingly, he responded to it in a chapter of the Social Contract, which he subsequently suppressed, but which still survives in what is known as the Geneva manuscript of the Social Contract.∗ Rousseau accepted Diderot's evaluation of the importance and force of self-interest, even suggesting that Diderot did not recognize its full extent. Indeed, he shared in the common project of most enlightened thinkers of Tiniting or domesticating it. He also, again like most Enlightenment thinkers, accepted the validity of the broad concept of humanity. But he would not grant that the general will of humanity was anvthing more than an abstraction, and as such could not in fact exist. Individuals existed as biological facts, but societies only existed unconsciously

”Itis well known that this is the most important discussion of the general will before Rousseau's use of the idea it in the Social Contract. Diderot describes the general will as always good and infallible, as Rousseau would do later. He asserts that its principles are to be found in custom, prescribed law, and assumptions shared

across cultures. See Diderot, 'Natural Law' from the Encyclopedia in J.H. Mason and R. Wokler (eds), Diderot: Political Writings, Cambridge UP, 1993, joe 17711

Rousseau, 'On the General Society of Humankind', OC IL, pp. 28–289,

far as they had viable means of communication and mechanisms of integration. Since mankind as a whole lacked these things, Rousseau argued, there could be no universal society of all humanity, and no common will for all of mankind. Against Diderot, Voltaire and liberals who assume society to exist naturally, or to say the same thing in shghtly different terms, who assume that human nature is natural sociable rally, Rousseau asserts that all social and political constructs are based on conventions. They are artificial and cultural, not natural ural. It follows from this that '...we really only begin to be men after first having been citizens'.?! The necessary particularism of society eties precluded the existence of a binding concept of humanity to which Diderot appealed. 'This is not to say that in Rousseau's view humanity could not constitute itself into an integrated and unified whole, only that at the time of writing he did not believe that the preconditions for an ecumenical humanity existed.

It now becomes possible to understand more clearly how the attraction studies of Voltaire and Rousseau toward the Jews dified. Voltaire posited a uniform human nature and a universal ethic applicable to, and obligatory for, all rational beings. Membership in his thoroughly cosmopolitan humanity was direct and unmediated. 'The simple laws of universal morality could be discovered by reason, and were further engraved by nature in the hearts of all What was good and right in France was also good and right in England or Eldorado or Surinam or on the Bosphorus. Deviations from this morality were to be condemned whenever and wherever they occurred. And Voltaire found among the Jews norms and instances of behavior that fre- slowly and dramatically went against the rational and minimalist ethical code which he advocated, as well as the aesthetic and cultural norms he favored. Given his basic assumptions about man and the world, and his understanding of Judaism, Voltaire could not well have had a consistently sympathetic attitude toward the Jews. This is not to say, however, that he was anti-Semitic.

Voltaire was willing to accept great degrees of cultural diversity, provided they did not infringe on the rights of others or result in harm to them. If the Jews would desist from their antisocial practices and modify their irrational beliefs, he was perfectly willing to accept them, as we have seen in the case of Pinto. Insofar as there

4 Jbid., p. 287.

remained a conflict between the guidelines of his simple, cosmopolitan ethics and the norms of Judaism, Voltaire would continue to criticize cize the religion of Moses. Once such contradictions were ehminated, there is no reason to think that Voltaire would have persisted in his criticism of Judaism, though he would no doubt have continued to make barbed and witty remarks about the Jews and their rehgion, as he did about virtually all particularist cultures that deviated from the rational and classicist norms that he favored."

While recognizing and accepting the value of humanity, Rousseau did not believe that, apart from refraining from harming others, and where possible acting with benefit toward them, it had imme- diate applicability. He thought in terms of the need to constitute, and the infinite difficulty of constituting, human societies. He therefore admired the Jews for having established and maintained lasting polity for as long as they had. Beyond this, he also believed that it was necessary for particular societies to mediate between individuals and mankind as a whole. In his own words: '. .. we really only begin to be men after first having been citizens'. In Rousseau's view of things, the Jews had taken a first step in this direction before most other peoples.

There are, further, two other reasons that Rousseau had more sympathy for the Jews than Voltaire. The first is that his life expe- nothing made it possible for him to identify with the poor and oppressed in a way that Voltaire could not. Secondly, Rousseau's standards of fairness were more demanding than those of Voltaire. Voltaire saw the world as seriously flawed and incapable of radical rectification. One could, and was obligated to, eliminate whatever abuses and stu- piditics one could, and to improve the conditions of life to the degree that this was possible. But the limits of improvement were pretty narrow. Better to leave the world to go its way as best it might on the understanding that things could be worse: better to cultivate one's garden, than to speculate about issues that one is powerless to change. There is no doubt but that Voltaire was seriously dedicated to the cause of reform, but the reforms he advocated were generally limited ited and his expectations modest and pragmatic.

Though Voltaire had great respect for the ethics of the Quakers, he ridiculed what he considered the absurdity of their manners. See the Philosophical Letters, Letters 124, and 'ÆMCM AU" p.383:

Rousseau, on the other hand, thought in terms of a thorough

recasting of society, for he saw its flaws as radical and incapable of correction by ad hoc tinkering. He looked to do no less than to reconstitute society and to remake man. But seeing contemporary society as radically corrupt, and believing people to be largely what their environments make them, he also had more compassion for victims of established powers.

In Voltaire and Rousseau, then, we have examples of approaches to a marginal and excluded group in eighteenth-century society. Each, in his way, does credit to the movement to which they belonged. Voltaire thought in terms of what changes needed to be made by the excluded to permit integration into its ecumenical community of mankind. He did not, it is worth emphasizing, assume the inevitable and permanent exclusion of the Jews from the family of mankind. Rousseau expressed respect for the early achievement of the Hebrew lawgiver in forming an integrated and sustainable society. Seeing the Jews as existing in a position of weakness and as victimized as a result of that weakness, he also had great sympathy for them in his own time. Both men thought in terms of the ultimate inclusion of the Jews within a broader human community, Voltaire emphasizing a universal ethic and a minimal degree of uniformity, Rousseau seeing an intermediate social and political formation as a necessary part of the process. Hence Rousseau was more inclined to accept particularism, and even to regard it as virtue, than was Voltaire. For both men, however, the project was one of inclusion.

Born

At the end of the Book of fudges there is an account of one of the most gruesome and horrific sets of events in the Hebrew Scriptures. It is the story of a rape and murder, followed by a brutal and bloody civil war. It is known as the story of the concubine in Gibeah, or of the Levite of Ephraim.”

According to the account given in fudges, a Levite and his concubine and servant were traveling from Bethlehem to Mount Ephraim. Disdaining to stop in a Jebusite town as the sun was setting, the

25 Judges, chapters 19–21.

Levite pushed on to stay the night among his coreligionists. Tea town they reached was Gibeah in the territory of the tribe of Benjamin. The travelers waited in the public square, as was the custom, and were finally offered hospitality by an elderly townsman. While the host and his guests were at their evening meal, the townsmen sur-

rounded the house and demanded that the Levite be delivered to them for their sexual pleasure. In an attempt to protect his guest, the host offered his own daughter and the Levite's concubine to the mob. Though the offer was rejected in principle, when the concur- bine was sent out to them, they took her, raped her and further abused her. As a result the woman died. The Levite then trans- carried her body back to Mount Ephraim. There he cut the bodv into twelve pieces, and sent one to each of the twelve tribes of Israel.

The tribes were shocked by this outrage, the like of which had not occurred 'since the Children of Israel came up from the land of Egvpt'."" The tribes assemble, hear the Levite's account. and imme- diligently demand that the guilty be turned over for punishment. Tea Benjaminites refuse to do so, preferring to face the other tribes in battle. On the first two days, the Benjaminites inflicted hear losses on the other tribes. On the third day all but 600 of the more than 26,000 Benjaminites were killed and the town of Gibeah. more the other towns in the territory of Benjamin, destroyed.

The tribes having sworn not to give their daughters in marriage to the tribe of Benjamin, they then considered it undesirable that an entire tribe of Israel disappear. They therefore arranged for some of the surviving Benjaminite men to have the unmarried daughters of Yabesh Gilead, an Israeli town that had refused to take part in the war on Benjamin, and were consequently put to the sword. Tea remaining Benjaminites were permitted to sixteen brides from among the daughters of Shiloh during a rustic festival. ,

For Voltaire this set of events represented little more than a case of the brutality, barbarism and fanaticism of the biblical Hebrews. In recounting them, he remained close to the biblical narrative, high- hghting or commenting 1ronically on the text so as to bring out the extent of the slaughters, the overall irrationality of the storv. and the cthical problems it raises.* Voltaire points out the improbability of

27 Judges, 19:30.
* Voltaire provides a close narrative of the episode with long notes in the man- ner of Pierre Bayle in his 'La Bible enfin expliquée', in Louis Moland, ed., Oeuvres

so small in territory producing an army of more than 400,000 men and comments on the Israelites slaughtering old men, youths, women and girls, 'according to their praiseworthy custom'. He dismisses the whole account with the observation that, 'Father Meslier says that these fables savages would make your hair stand on end if they didn't not nothing

Rousseau's approach to this set of events differed in scope and

purpose from Voltaire's. Furthermore, he also came to treat it at a critical point in his life. Rousseau had just finished reading the book of Judges in June 1762 when he learned that the Parliament of Paris had issued a warrant for his arrest because of his authority Of Emule. He had to leave Montmorency hastily, and fled toward Switzerland. To calm his mind during the journey he decided to write a prose poem, in the style of Gessner, on the subject of the Levite and his concubine. The result, The Levite of Ephraim, Rousseau did not think was good literature, but he was nevertheless pleased with it, writing 'The Levite of Ephraim, if he is not the best of my works will always be the most cherished.

Rousseau did not hesitate to refer to '...the horror of the subject, which in the fund is abominable', and to describe it as 'atroce'.® Which of course it is. In the body of the work Rousseau emphasizes the comprehensiveness of the massacre to which the Benjaminites were subjected, a massacre that separated neither male nor female, neither young nor old (Le Lénite, p. 1219). Towards the end of the episode, when the Israelites decide to punish the inhabitants of Yabesh Gilead

Voltaire's Complete Works, Paris, 52 vols., 1883–85, vol. XXX, pp. 150–154, and gives a briefer account in the same spirit m the 'Important Examination, XXVI, pp. 242–243. I am indebted to Dr. BE Schwarzbach for generously providing me with these references and the accompanying texts.

#% Voltaire, 'Important Examination', p. 213.

90 Voltaire, 'The Bible finally explained', p. 154, note 1.

1 Rousseau, Confessions, in OC, I, p. 586. The Levite of Ephraim was not published during Rousseau's lifetime. The text of this rather curious work is to be found in OC, IL, pp. 1205–1223. It has recently received close and insightful scholarly attention tion, particularly from Susan K. Jackson, Rousseau's Occasional Biographies, Ohio State UP, 1992, chap. 5, who offers a psychoanalytical analysis, together with an evalu- ation of the place of the The Levite of Ephraim in Rousseau's autobiographical writings, and by Thomas Cavanagh, 'Rousseau's The Levite of Ephraim: Synthesis within a “Minor” Work, in Patrick Riley (ed.), The Cambridge Companion to Rousseau, Cambridge UP, 2001, pp. 397–417, who convincingly relates this work to key themes of Rousseau's major writings.

32 Rousseau, Confessions, OC, I, p. 586.

who had refused to take part in punitive actions 'more atrocious than the crime”, (ibid, p. 1220) Rousseau refers to them as 'this people

fierce' and 'this people, cruel in their pity' (bid., p. 1221). But unlike Voltaire, he was not primarily interested in denigration or denunciation.

Rousseau rethinks and presents the story in the pastoral and tragic modes, something that Voltaire, lacking sympathy and respect for the biblical text, could not possibly have done, and he deviates enormously from the original. The first section, which is much closer im tone to the book of Ruth than to that of fudges, gives a romantic and pastoral account, derived entirely from Rousseau's imagination, of the Levite's courtship of the girl from Bethlehem, who 1st prefelt as his true love. The domestic scene at her father's house, also much embroidered by Rousseau, serves the dramatic function of heightening the brutality of the crime of which the girl becomes the victim. For Voltaire the crime was so horrible that it required no dramatic enhancement, or indeed, any comment.

Both the accounts in Judges and Rousseau's poem emphasize that the crime of the Benjaminites of Gibeah was unprecedented: such a thing had not happened 'since the Children of Israel had come up out of the land of Egypt'. And yet, in the biblical narrative this episode is not altogether without precedent." Rousseau has taken a striking, brutal, parsimoniously presented biblical narrative, and while remaining close to the basic narrative of the original, turned it into an epic account of the violation of a fundamental social norm and the processes of atonement and re-founding that must be gone through to restore a morally viable social order."

∗ Though it is not mentioned in the literature on The Levite of Ephraim with which T am familiar, there is a close parallel in the account of the destruction of Sodom (Genesis 19:1-26). The themes are the same: strangers arrive in a place unknown to them, they are offered hospitality by a marginal member of the community, the townspeople declare their intention of performing homosexual rape on the visitor(s), and women are offered as substitutes. The difference is that in Genesis divine agency intervene to save the innocent and to punish the guilty. In fudges, in the absence of direct divine intervention, events are played out in human terms. The crime is perpetrated; it is perceived as calling fundamental norms into question; and it is expiated. In the absence of brimstone raining down from heaven, the offended must have resorted to force in the usual way. The Benjaminites having refused to turn over the criminals, an all-out war ensues. The only author encountered in this study to comment on the parallel between the episodes of Sodom and Gibeah is Voltaire. See 'The Bible Finally Explained', p. 151, note 1 and 'Important Examination', p. 212, note 2,

On this point see Kavanagh, 'Rousseau's The Levite of Ephraim, pp. 408-413.

The-sweep and seriousness of the story of The Levite of Ephraim as

narrated by Rousseau is in some ways reminiscent of the Orestea, which also addresses the problem of social norms, the atonement of great crimes, and breaking the cycle of violence and counter-violence. For Voltaire, who was not looking for more than proof of the fanaticism, barbarism and brutality of the biblical Hebrews, it was sufficient to be able to provide an instance of these qualities in the polished and sardonic prose in which he excelled. His project here being one of disenchantment and destruction, he did not look to do more. Rousseau, however, looked to the Hebrew scriptures with a more open and positive attitude, and by creatively applying his mind and imagination, was able to find things of enduring value in them.

VI

The Talmud contains a fairly long passage explaining why the people of Sodom did not have a portion in the world to come.” Among the reasons adduced is the following, which appears without attribution:

The people of Sodom had a bed which visitors were made to lie down we. If he was longer than the bed, they would cut [part of him] off if he was shorter, they would stretch him.

The only escape for the unsuspecting visitor was to have a plausible excuse for not lying on the bed. If by chance a visitor were to be precisely the length of the bed, there is no indication in the text that he would come to any harm from this particular encounter. The account of the bed of Sodom is a powerful metaphor of xenophobia and totalitarianism. Its function is to exclude outsiders, and appears to be aimed at their destruction. It imposes a purely abstract, anti-rational and specious form of equality or uniformity on human bcings reduced to merely physical dimensions. It serves no useful purpose purpose, and as a mechanism of exclusion it is gratuitously destructive tive. Basically it is a sadistic rite imposed by an organized society on unsuspecting outsiders, who are excluded and destroyed by it. There is a 'dark narrative' of the Enlightenment inspired to a considerable degree by the book Dialectic of Enlightenment, written by two

5% Babylonian Talmud, Tractacte Sanhedrin, fol. 109.
36 Jhid., fol. 109 verso.

German Jewish Marxists prominent in the Frankfurt school, Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer.” The introduction to the first German edition of the book is dated May 1944 and signed in California.

The book can be read, among other things, as a meditation on the crisis of the twentieth century, and particularly on the evils associated ated with fascism and nazism. One of the forces Horkheimer and Adorno sees as responsible for the rise of totalitarianism is instructed mental reason, which the authors identify with the Enlightenment. ” The Dialectic of Enlightenment also contains a searching criticism of modern mass culture, and has had considerable influence on post-modernism. A recent history of the Enlightenment has been taken Horkheimer and Adorno's dark narrative of the movement as one of its main analytical themes.” Though Horkheimer and Adorno''s book ranges from ancient Greece well into the twentieth century, it does give the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century a central role, especially for its extension of the assumptions and methods of the natural sciences to areas beyond the investigation of the laws gov-erning natural phenomena and the pre-eminence it allegedls accords instrumental reason. It is the view of Horkheimer and Adorno that the uniformity imposed by the logic of instrumental reason and the application of the same criteria to human agents as to natural phe-nomena result in the uncritical and repressive umiformity of modern totalitarianisms, and beyond that of modern mass culture. See in this way, these forces can be taken as a modern version of the bed of Sodom. The question then becomes, did the thinkers of the Enlightenment advocate repressive forms of equality and universal-ism, and did the instruments they used, and the long-term goals for which they strove, subvert freedom and diversity? While this is a claim that one might plausibly make for instrumental reason, it is not one that can be readily sustained—or that Horkheimer and Adorno even makes —with respect to the thought of Montesquieu or Diderot or Voltaire or Rousseau.

There is a gap between abstract categories such as instrumental

7 Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, Dialectic of Enlightenment, trans. John Cumming, New York, 1998; 1944.

The figure taken as one of the main theoreticians of instrumental reason is Francis Bacon, one of the recognized founding fathers of the Enlightenment. id. Jp, 5 51

® Dorinda Outram, The Enlightenment, Cambridge UP, 1995.

reason 'and the positions actually taken by thinkers or writers deal-ing with contradictory situations, or simply contingencies. What the abstractions often miss in the case of the Enlightenment is the con-cern With moral agency and ethical categories that are central to Enlightenment thought, but which are overlooked by analyzes that focus on logic or science.

One of the key characteristics of the postmodernist critique of the Enlight-
enment 1s that îts rationalism and universalism delegitimize particular
larism and difference, thus implicitly undermining freedom and
contributing to totalitarianism.* Among the thinkers of the Enlighten-
ment, Voltaire was notable for his insistence on universally valid
moral principles. Yet it did not occur to Horkheimer and Adorno
to criticize Voltaire on that account. On the contrary, they admire
his questioning of, and opposition to, unjust authority.' There are
a number of reasons why this should be so.

First, the principles of Voltaire's universalistic ethics are few: recog-
nition of a beneficial and orderly Supreme Being, the right to pro-
tect oneself, and the duty to respect others by reframing from imposing
on them things which one would oneself wish to avoid. Secondly,
this ethic is conceived in pragmatic and utilitarian terms: one has a
natural propensity to seek one's own happiness, but in doing one's one
is obliged to avoid unnecessarily inflicting pain or distress on others.
Fashion, opinion, and metaphysics are matters that can be left to
individual discretion and allowed to vary indefinitely, so long as they
remain separate from civic and police authority. Thirdly, the few
clearly enunciated elements of Voltaire's ethical code serve a large part
negative function: they are the ground on which Voltaire places him-
self to oppose ideologies and practices of religio-political coercion
and tyranny. Voltaire does not use reason repressively to impose a
stultifying, unnecessary, and brutal pseudo-equality on unsuspecting
victims. Rather, he uses it critically to question and delegitimize the
coercive imposition of one person's fantasy on others. His few basics
principles of ethics established, Voltaire leaves a vast sphere of diversity

For a recent defense of the Enlightenment against its postmodernist critics see
Daniel Gordon, 'On the Supposed Obsolescence of the French Enlightenment',
Historical Reflections: Historical Reflections, 25 1999, pp. 365–385.

Horkheimer and Adorno, Dralectic of Enlightenment, pp. 218–219.

See Voltaire, Philosophical Dictionary, arts. 'Gardener's Catechism', 'Laws', and
Ve

open to individuals, and of pluralism to societies. The postmodernist
view of the Enlightenment as a sort of bed of Sodom constructgd
from the implications of instrumental reason and the logic of repression
sive universalism finds no support in Voltaire's notions of society or
the state. And as I have pointed out, Horkheimer and Adorno them-
selves did not suggest that it did.

Rousseau has been criticized for having helped lay the ground-

work for modern totalitarianism, largely on the basis of certain interpretations of his concept of the general will and his comments on the political uses of education. However, the criticisms of Talmon and Crocker were made in the context of the cold war, not postmodernism. Rousseau's thought is particularly rich in tensions. Hey tend to see and appreciate both sides of complex questions so that interpretations of him that fail to catch these tensions can hardly do justice to the complexity and balance of his thought. This seems to be the case for the totalitarian thesis, which does not give due emphasis sis to Rousseau's concept of liberty, or to the complexity of this concept, which im Rousseau is made to depend on sets of preconditions. We have seen above that while Voltaire tended to take the existence and functioning of society for granted, Rousseau believed that these things required explanation. He did not, however, believe that socicty could properly take only one form, as his admuration for the work of Lycurgus, Numa and Moses shows. Moreover, he recognized that highly integrated societies tended toward xenophobia as the reverse of their patriotism. According to his more sympathetic interpreters"* Rousseau balanced a belief in universal ethical principle ples, among them liberty, with a keen sense of the relativity of politics ical and social structures.

The very different ways that Voltaire and Rousseau conceptualized liberty nevertheless have a number of things in common. both saw in human life and the integrity of human beings supreme values. Both assumed to be broad, universally available and applicable moral

See, for example, J. Talmon, Zhe Origins of Totalitarian Democracy, London, 1961, and Lester G. Crocker, Rousseau's Social Contract: An Interpretatiwe Essay, Cleveland, 1968.

#° As, for example, Shklar, Men and Citizens; Jean Starobinski, Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction, Paris, 1970; Asher Horowitz, Rousseau, Nature and History, Toronto, 1987; Mira Morgenstern, Rousseau and the Pohtics of Ambiguity: Self, Culture and Society, College Park, Penn., 1996; and Timothy O'Hagan, Rousseau, London and New York, 1999.

code, while both accepted very wide ranges of cultural diversity. In adhering to Lockean sense psychology both validated the material well-being of the individual and society, and discounted metaphysics. This emphasis on happiness defined in utilitarian terms, which is common not only to Voltaire and Rousseau, but to the Enlightenment as a whole, is sometimes regarded as shallow or vulgar, which perbaps it is. But the right of each person to associate with whomever, or whichever structures she or he chooses, tend to validate individual choice and social openness. It does not incline, as the postmodernists would have us believe, toward repressive rationalism or

totalitarianism.® The sources of exclusiveness, among them radical nationalism and racism, are best sought outside a movement whose master fictions were cast in terms of universal humanity and liberal individualism.*

Enlightenment and postmodernist thought share a quality of skepticism and negation, In the case of the Enlightenment, however, the thrust to determine what cannot be known is basically liberating in that it is intended, often explicitly, to free the individual from metaphysical and theological imperatives. Moreover, it 1s set in the context of a modest epistemology and an equally modest utilitarian ethic. The skepticism of postmodernism, which often borders on solipsism, seems to imply that nothing can be known, so anything can be done, or at least that there are no objectively valid grounds for preferring one set of actions to another.

Ronald Schechter argues that antisemitism during the eighteenth century is most prominent among thinkers identified with currents of thought not usually identified with the Enlightenment. 'Rationalizing the Enlightenment: Postmodernism and Theories of Antisemitism', Historical Rdflechons/Réflexions historique, 25, 1999.

AROUND THE REPRESENTATION OF THE GREAT 18TH CENTURY JEWIC PRIEST ACCORDING TO LE PELLETIER

Isabelle Martin

The topic addressed here revolves around problems of images and meaning. and it seemed interesting to us to go back to the origin of ideas that do not will only see their realization during the Enlightenment. It will be that- tion in particular of the literary criticism of biblical iconography through the writings of a little-known author: Jean Le Pelletier. We We will proceed in two stages. The first part will be devoted to rather disparaging comments that Le Pelletier makes about the penalty- religious culture of his time, and more specifically to his remarks on the representation of the High Priest of the Jews. Indeed, he is astonished and is offended by the ignorance of his contemporaries, and by the anachro- nism which consists, for painters, of crowning the High Priest of Jews wearing a bishop's mitre. In the second part, we inter- We will examine the rather paradoxical reasons which, according to him, could have led to. to accuse Christian painters of committing such 'gross' 'errors'.

Jean Le Pelletier was born in 1633 in Rouen and died in the same city in 1711. A universal and encyclopedic mind before its time, he He dabbled in painting without much success, then became a merchant. Erudite and curious, he learned Latin which he began to translate, then Michaud tells us! He learned Spanish and Greek with the same ease and Hebrew'; he therefore possesses the languages of the sacred texts. He studies mathematics, astronomy, architecture, and even the medicine, and began to write. We owe him, among other things, studies

metrological issues as delicate as the Dissertations on Noah's Ark,
and on the hemine and the pound of St-Benoët, a Letter concerning the weight of
Absalom's hair, published in the Mémoires de 'Trévoux' in April 1702,
and the text that will concern us here: Remarks on the errors of painters
very much in the representation of our mysteries and in subjects drawn from history

According to Michaud's Ancient and Modern Universal Biography, Graz Akademishe

Druck. u. Verlagsanstalt, 1966-70, p. 223.
2? A measure of capacity among the Greeks and Romans.

sacred. This text, which essentially concerns the representation of
The Jews was published in the Journal de Trévoux between 1704 and 1705.
As Michaud reports regarding his first dissertations-
tions, this editorial choice is necessary in order to 'avoid causing loss'
to the bookseller" in a century he describes as 'delicate and difficult'.

A few personal remarks before addressing those of Le
Pelletier. First, they come from a layman who is demonstrating his sym-
He had a deep sympathy for the Jews. Linked to the Oratorian Lamy, who influenced him, he
In practice, the precepts stated in the preface to the Apparatus bib-
licus. Not only do Christians need, in order to better understand
their religion, to know the 'res fudaeorum', but they also need to inter-
borrowing sacred texts from other sources, external to that
from Holy Scripture itself. Furthermore, Le Pelletier believes that it is necessary
To see in order to understand, therefore to reconstruct in detail through a description
The description is precise, almost ethnographic: the places, the characters, the settings.
and the Jewish holidays. We will not review all these aspects,
only a detail today, but what a detail!—since it is the symbol
The spiritual authority's "bole"—will stop us: the hairstyle.' |

Pelletier is not the first to have this kind of concern.
iconographic elements. What is original is the form of dissemination
that he adopts and the public he wants to convince. This public, we can
Imagine it as threefold. Its first component is obviously honesty.
man who, in order to judge a painting, must understand its syvm-
boles and the attributes that complement a very particular audience, but
Very important are the sponsors. They are mostly clergymen.

∗ Michaud, op. cit., p. 223.

| Same.

The Oratorians of Paris possessed a large quantity of Hebrew manuscripts.
and became interested in Judaism in order to better understand the Bible.

F. Laplanche, The Bible in France between myth and criticism (16th-19th centuries), A. Mic
1994, p. 65.

® Lamy mentions Philo, Josephus, the Talmud, Maimonides, the works of
Christian Hebrew scholars: the two Buxtorfs, the Dutch Emperor Constantine, the
treaties published in the 'crilici sac'.

7 Abbé Méry in his 'Theology of Painters, Sculptors, Engravers and Draughtsmen-
those where the principles are explained... to represent the mysteries of NS, those
of the Blessed Virgin, the saints in particular, in 1765, will return—no doubt because
that he had read Le Pelletier—on the question of the mitre in chapter XIV entitled 'How
'We must paint the Pontiffs': 'The mitre that is still placed on them marks the armor,
or the helmet of the status of Faith and therefore of truth, as the Pontificate says, in
the ceremony of their coronation', p. 112.

Sistics who want to adorn their church with edifying paintings, including the
Reliability must be beyond question. (Instructions from the Council of Trent)
become increasingly difficult to interpret as time goes on
(that biblical criticism is gradually converging with historical criticism.)
Finally, the third component of this publication is the painters who are called
to execute these paintings, respecting as much as possible
the truth. Hence the need for a reliable science of costume, which com-
complements the biblical data with historical or anthropological data
questions before the letter. Sylvain Amic and Sylvie Patry in their article
'Collections of costumes for the use of painters (18th-19th centuries)'
keys): an editorial genre at the service of painting?" thus simplify
somewhat the problem that Le Pelletier faces when writing: 'Now if the
History painting revels in verisimilitude, religious painting
is, however, bound by a requirement of truth based solely on the texts-
testacres

These sacred texts do not provide enough information to don-
to give precise instructions on how to represent the Hebrews
and especially not enough relevant details such as those concerning
the hairstyle of the High Priest.

Moreover, Le Pelletier's investigation did not originate directly from a
ecclesiastical source and does not concern a purely religious question
gilded or dogmatic, but of practical iconography and fidelity
historical.

The representation of the Jew and in particular of the characters of
The Old Testament does indeed pose a thorny problem for painters.
Should they be represented in a classical and unrealistic way as icons?
nes whose attributes allow the function to be recognized, or must-
He represents them in a 'realistic' way by researching history.
a truth—undecipherable to the non-specialist believer. Let us remember
the instructions of the Council of Trent:

The Holy Council forbids the placement of any image in churches
which is based on a stated dogma and which can mislead the simple, 1l
wants us to avoid all impurity, to not give images of
provocative attractions. To ensure compliance with these decisions, the saint
The Council forbids placing in any place, even in churches, which

8 See in this regard our article 'Biblical or exotic decor in the staging of
scene of sacred eloquence in the 18th century', in The Voice in Culture and Literature
French erasures (1713–1875), Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, July 2001.

9 In Histoire de l'Art, SEDES, Paris, no. 46, June 2000, p. 41.

are not subject to ordinary visits, no unusual images,
unless the bishop has approved it."

The consequences of this search for meaning or the literal have been
studied in literature, particularly in translations and in
numerous works, including those by Laplanche. But for iconography–
phie, the problem is further complicated by the fact that the translation
Words and the search for meaning are not enough. One must also have
whatever model the image might be derived from, and there is none. And for good reason.
no Jewish iconographic tradition. We will see that Le Pelletier
is forced to resort to analogies with objects representing
existing or extant.

Painters will not be able to concern themselves with the accuracy of the costume
of the Israelites that from the moment their clients or their critics–
ques are capable of understanding its erudition. This will not happen
that later during the 17th century. Sylvain Amic and Sylvie Patrr
They confirm it to us:

From the second half of the 18th century onwards, the care that artisans–
your agreement with the costume and the representation of clothing, the attention–
tion that art critics give them in their reviews, if they
are not new, seem to obey various imperatives and sometimes
nine. (...) Similarly, one can question the existence of a discourse
educational material specifically adapted for painters or publications
specifics reflecting the multiple aims that artists and critics
assign to the representation of the costume."

Through his concern to restore the Jews to their rightful place in
In sacred history, Le Pelletier thus seems to be ahead of his time. But he is indeed

It is difficult, as Molé requested in 1771, for painters to give

to the Virgin

instead of a head copied from the Antique, a head which they would have
The pattern was found in the reading of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

It was still necessary for scholars such as Le Pelletier to describe it to them with
to be precise, the habits of the Jews of that time and what they might have resembled

O E. Male, Religious Art after the Council of Trent, Lib. Armand Colin, Paris, 1932,
HAS
In Histoire de l'Art, no. 46, June 2000, p. 39.
Molé, 'Portrait of the Virgin', in Historical and Critical Observations on Errors
painters, Dubure, Paris, 1771, p. 124.

Let's get to the detail that...
interests us.

In the last part of his Remarks on the Errors of Painters,
Le Pelletier points out that the one that is 'most common' for them is
to represent, either frontally or from the side, the High Priest of the Jews
wearing a mitre similar to that of bishops. This headdress is,
In her view, it was completely inappropriate. Indeed, it did not correspond
to the customs of the Hebrews, and its anachronistic representation is detrimental to
a proper understanding of rites foreign to the Christian religion;
and to the relationship that the Christian maintains with what is for him the Ancient
Testament. To prove he's right on this minor point, but
which has the importance given to it by its function as a symbol of self-
Le Pelletier, a good disciple of Lamy, consulted four sources;
namely the Sacred Text (in several languages), Josephus, Saint Jerome
and the Rabbis who are in possession of the Jewish Traditions (Maimonides,
Rabbi Abraham, etc.).

Let us not dwell on the learned and lengthy explanations that
Our scholar provides, from Hebrew and Greek. They are very
detailed, and as was customary at the time, rely essentially-
ment on philology.

Let's get straight to his conclusions, those relating to detail
of the costume:

But we can glean from what we have reported that it is

It was evident that the High Priest's cap was a large white turban.
[Here we can see the analogy] to the edge of which was sewn a strip or
a dying white diadem striped with blue that tightened around the forehead, tying it
behind the head, [he notes that this detail was retained for the mitre]
to hold the hat firmly on top. And that in the middle of this band-
attached to the water was a gold blade, on which were engraved these four
Three letters of the name of God, mir. Let the rest on either side of this
The headband, from the temples to the back of the head, was closed
of three rows of small gold chalices in relief sewn on top, which represent-
smelled of henbane flowers."* That is to say, a small cup or
"Chalice with a cup-shaped rim, like a pomegranate wreath."

All these details, all significant, illegible to the simple-minded, risk in
emphasizing the difference between Jewish high priests and bishops of

5 From the Greek 'pig's bean'. Plant of wastelands, with sticky leaves and flowers
Yellowish with purple stripes. Very poisonous.
4 Memoirs for the History of Science and Fine Arts, 1705, V, p. 428.

to provoke exclusion. Conversely, by marking this
difference. It also brings a better understanding of the Other,
and avoids prejudice.

Reconstructing a representation is all the more necessary.
sand that, due to the Jewish prohibition," no image can
to serve as a model for the necessary Christian iconography. I + to
in a way a blank, a void, a space that remained subjective, that
of the representation of Jewish history. ! The pedagogical discourse.
contemplation or meditation, which has been practiced since the Council of Trent.
They voluntarily pass through, for the most part, images. They need
In light of the progress of history, to include Jews as
Jews, and no longer as a series of benevolent or stereotypes
malicious.

This new iconographic hermeneutics has as its main
consequence that we find in his Discourse on the traces of con-
the conflicts that pitted the Ancients against the Aodernes, stemming from the problem-
the matic of the model and imitation. Indeed, Le Pelletier takes
absolutely opposed to the Ancients who advocate continuing to
to illustrate the Bible through the customs of the Greeks and Romans. This,
by ignoring Jewish dimensions as much as possible, so as not to
taking the risk of illustrating the Bible anecdotally, and losing
the entire code of allegorical related to Antiquity.

It is not in Sacred History that one should learn about customs

my & the customs of the Greeks or Romans: it is nevertheless in
the portrait that painters give us of them, where they are located, and where
We have the misfortune to encounter them. Instead of seeing Hebrews
To maintain the nature of our mysteries, we perceive in them only...
Greeks and Romans. The imagination of painters filled with the idea of
These two nations, like these colored glasses, leave them with nothing.
to conceive of something that does not bear the appearance of it: or if things were of the
so that we propose them, the painters animating the truth, the

5 See in this regard the work of J.-J. Goux, Les Zconoclastes, Seuil, Paris, 1978.

1 See the excellent summary by A. Besançon, L'image interdite, Gallimard, Paris, 2000.

'Instead of focusing on the iconographic aspect, we could have pro-
to engage in rhetorical analysis and see how Le Pelletier animates his
paintings. See our article 'Yves-Fichel Marchais: The Eloquence of the Pulpit,'
'Criticism to Indignation', in E. Negret and J.-P. Sermain, A Rhetorical Experience-
that: The Eloquence of the Revolution, Voltaire Foundation, Oxford. 2002.

beauty that Art inspires in them, we would learn not only history-
the history of our Mysteries in their Pictures, but also the customs, &
manners of those who represent them.

'These colored lenses' are those offered by Rippa,° and which condition-
function the language of painters who prefer to express a feeling
religious, and have no interest in teaching the customs of the Hebrews. The
Pelletier, aware of the power of prejudice, does not give up
However, he remains convinced of his objective, which is explicitly stated.
that by reclaiming religious painting and making it more credible,
in the name of difference of course, by detaching it from stereo-
With classic types, it will become more convincing.

With remarkable foresight, Le Pelletier realizes that the
forms of representation used in the 17th century are no longer sufficient
effective, and that it is imperative to go through Judaism, through
the history of the Hebrews, to renew them. The method is inspired by...
days of the instructions of the Council of Trent, but the image must evoke
to read, to transform, in accordance with new knowledge.

The accounts of travelers returning from the Orient undoubtedly have
accentuated and rushed, as F. Laplanche writes,”

the perception of cultural otherness present in biblical texts
[which] is not solely due to the progress of history.”

Consequently, a certain fixity of the Orient, immobilized in its traditions would allow us to rediscover a civilization similar to that described in the Old Testament. For example, the traveler Chardin* asserts in 1686 that

His observations will greatly help in understanding the land of the Bible.

given that customs there have hardly changed in the last two thousand
24

years.

18 Memoirs for the History of Science and Fine Arts, 1705, V, p. 431.

1% The iconology of Caesare Rippa by J. Baudoin, 1643. Published by the International Libr
University of Lille, in the collection Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989.

2. Prejudice, that is the enemy: this battle cry was raised long before Bayle, well before Fontenelle; it sprang from the clash between humanists and scholastics questions, and between Catholics and Protestants. F. Laplanche, Writing, the Sacred and Hi APA, Holland University Press, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 537.

2 The Bible in France between myth and criticism (16th–19th centuries), A. Michel, Paris,

2h läplanche, op: ci, p.172. |

2 Journal of the Voyage of Mr. the Chevalier Chardin in Persia and other places in the Ori

F. Laplanche, o. at., p. 72.

His sympathy for the Jews leads Le Pelletier not only to condemning the painters for their ignorance, but also for their ill will. Have the Jews excluded themselves from dialogue with the world of the Good Guys by their uncompromising application of the Second commandment? Can painters consider themselves as outcasts, as pariahs, in Jewish society? And to this end, Did they want to take revenge on the Jews?

Le Pelletier judges the painters 'guilty' of unjustified reprisals towards the Jews, by perpetuating errors in the representation of the Ancients Testament whose mitre is, as he says, only one:

(...) sample that is offered as a model for discovering the

others, and to encourage them in the future to avoid them and to prevent others from doing
of the same nature, but the number of the former is so great that one does not
one could not help but believe that they had always taken it upon themselves to
to distort everything concerning the ways of the Hebrews, in order to sell themselves
to manage, in a way, from a nation that made it a principle to relax
gion, never to suffer at home, neither Painter nor Sculptor, who does not
spoke only with loathing and wished them nothing less than
become like their Works, 'similis illis fiant qui faciunt ea'.

Taking into account this vindictive ignorance, Le Peiletier moves
the disparaging attitude of the Jews (towards the painting of his time)
which would be justified by a better understanding --what is called-
would today be the context giving them the right to judge the
validity of a representation, based on their culture:

(...) they [the painters] expose themselves to the scorn of the scholars and even of the
common among Jews, who have the right to reproach them for their lack of care
that they have to study Sacred History."

Le Pelletier, however, understands that it is practically impossible-
impossible in his time to attain historical truth when the painful-
very abandoning Ancient 'Festament and the representation of the Jews.
include the New Testament and in particular the "Holy Family".
He regrets that it is still inconceivable to represent Jesus and his
disciples, like, he tells us, 'Arabs'. Correct the detail of the
The high priest's hairdo is only a first step for him. But he
warns us that it may still be too early in 1705 because 'this pre-

∗ Memoirs for the History of Science and Fine Arts, 1705, V, p. 431.
∗ Memoirs for the History of Science and Fine Arts, 1704, p. 594.

would be laughable," to represent Jesus Christ or the Apostles differently
that 'dressed in Roman style'. The Jew will have to suffer from this representation-
tion inclusion/exclusion whose boundary passes through language, Hebrew
for the Old Testament, and Greek for the New Testament.

Like a true Cartesian, he trusts reason to reduce the fraction-
ture, by affirming, in the name of history, the unity of representation.
And he asserts '(...) that nothing persuades the eyes, nor the imagination,
that he had not previously persuaded reason.

Thus, for Le Pelletier, painting does not only have an aesthetic purpose.
tic, but it must uphold reason to instruct in historical truth-
Toric. The painter is responsible for choosing truthful details.

because paintings make us 'think much more than they
'would not let us see'.

In conclusion, we can suggest that Le Pelletier, by making himself
the advocate of religious painting more faithful to historical truth, to
accuracy, seeks to restore to the Jews their historical status—mar-
that of tolerance—within Christendom, mitigating the effect of rupture
that the representation in the Ancient style creates.

27 Memoirs for the History of Science and Fine Arts, 1704, V, p. 431.
28 Jdem.
2 Jdem.

VOLTAIRE IN CONTEXT: THE EMERGENCE
OF ANTIJUDAIC RHETORIC IN THE FRENCH
EARLY ENLIGHTENMENT

Adam Sutcliffe

Voltaire's infamous anti-Semitism has generally been treated in isolation
tion, and attempts to interpret it have frequently taken recourse to
psychological or other personalizing modes of argument. Voltaire is,
after all, widely represented in classic lineages of Western thought
as almost the personification of Enlightenment: to present his hos-
ülity toward Judaism as in any way structurally related to its wider
philosophy threatens the foundations of the most cherished values of
modern heberalism. Much scholarship on Voltaire has sought to min-
imize the damage of this blemish on the great philosopher's reputation.

Other scholars have given a much more severe account of Voltaire's
judaeophobia. For Arthur Hertzberg, Voltaire was the 'vital link'
between medieval, religious and modern, secular anti-Semitism.! This
and similar arguments are implicitly based on what might be described
as to 'viral model of prejudice. Antisemitism is regarded as a dis-
tinct phenomenon separable from the rest of the thought of its host,
which it first infiltrates and then often increasingly infects. The spread
of this virus can be charted by tracing it back to the people from
whom it originally spread, and its source can be found in similar
epidemics in the past. In Hertzberg's account, Voltaire is presented
as the 'Patient Zero' of the disease of modern anti-Semitism, the pre-
history of which is located in the pogroms and inquisitions of the
medieval world. This model seems to me not only essentially unhis-
torical, but also both falsely reassuring and falsely despairing.
Antisemitism is treated as a ümeless phenomenon, and as such unsus-
susceptible to normal historical analysis. Because the virus can be isolated,
we are reassured that those who have not been exposed to it will
remain uninfected, and that those who have fallen ill might even be
cured if the right polemical medicine can be found. However, this

! Arthur Hertzberg, The French Enlightenment and the Jaws, Columbia University Press, New York, 1968, p. 313.

theory is also despairing, because viral anti-Semitism is eternal. Tea virus periodically mutates, moves around, and goes into abeyance— but in its essence it is unchanging and undefeatable.

In this paper, I want to challenge both arguments, by question- ing their common assumption: that Voltaire's antisemitism can be essen- tially be understood in personal terms. Rather than looking at Voltairc's biography for the key to his animosity, Î suggest that we must take a philosophical approach. Voltaire's anti-Judaic arguments are far less original than have generally been assumed: they are closely related to, and most probably to a considerable extent derived from, an intricate system of anti-Judaic rhetorical tropes that emerged im the clandestine philosophical manuscripts that circulated widely in France in the early decades of the eighteenth century. To understand the significance of these arguments, and the Voltairean rhetoric that descend from them, it is necessary to grasp the fraught status of Judaism in the early formulation of Enlightenment rationalism.

The presence of Judaism, as a repository of arguments and as a focus of controversy, powerfully inflected the debates of the European Early Enlightenment. As has been noted by scholars such as Richard Popkin and Silvia Bert, Jewish anti-Christian arguments, penned mostly by seventeenth-century Sephardic rabbis and polemneists im Amsterdam to fortify the Jewish commitment and pride of their own community, percolated into French and Enghsh non-Jewish radical circles by the second decade of the eighteenth centurv, within which they clandestinely circulated as intriguing sources of anti-Christan argument. However, more typically, Judaism was itself the target of irreligious polemic. Alongside and even twinned with the mining of Jewish texts for their critique of Christianity, Jewish textuality a toto was widely cast in radical discourse almost as the polar opposite of enlightened rationalism.

The anti-religious radical edge of the Enlightenment was in its carly decades largely explained through negative argument. Attempts to develop a positive recading of the bible and of religion were fraught with difficulties: it was much easier, and more entertaining, not to reconstruct religious authority but to ridicule it. The two Philopater novels by Johannes Duijkerius, published in the Dutch Republic in 1691 and 1697, are an early example of this genre. These trenchantly anti-clerical novels, which were immensely popular lar, follow the numbing experiences of the eponymous Philopater as he trains for priesthood. Philopater particularly laments the long

hours of Hebrew study to which he is subjected. 'Holy offices, Holy objects, Holy times': the students study the Mosaic religion in such arcane detail that it seems to Philopater as if they were themselves intending to become Jewish? While Duijkerius' primary satirical target is the theological pedantry of the Dutch Reformed Church, he articulates this argument through an attack on the sterile 'Jewishness' of Biblicism.

This pattern is repeated in many of the clandestine philosophical manuscripts that circulated in France in the early eighteenth century tury. These texts, which in many respects foreshadow Voltaire's later work, typically focus on the vigorous exploration of a cluster of recurrent themes: scientific speculation, irreligious polemic, and theories of materialism and natural religion. Although range of antagonistic targets appear in these manuscripts, with a striking regularity Judaism in some form is positioned as the opposite representative of the positive values that they seek to propagate.

A primary ambition of many of the clandestine manuscripts was to historicize the Bible, and thus to overthrow its religious authority. The most famous text to attempt this was the notorious and The highly influential failure of the Three Impostors. The precise origins of this work remains uncertain. Its central argument—that Moses, Jesus and Mohammed, the three great prophets of monotheism, were in truth calculating impostors, inventing the regulatory details of their respect tive pseudo-religions in order to gain control over the duped masses—can be traced back to long before the first decade of the eighteenth century, when various manuscript versions began to circulate clandestiny, in France and elsewhere. While this text most subversively attacks the status of Jesus, Moses, as the original impostor, has a unique status in its argument. Moses was able to fool the Jews, the treatise argues, because of their exceptional ignorance and credulity. This analysis is presented as a rationalist historicization of the Old Will. However, it repeatedly slips into an explicitly polemical reading of Jewish history as a narrative of exceptional stupidity and depravity.

Several other clandestine texts similarly slide from an explanatory to a polemically hostile approach to the Jewish past. A notable example is the Dissertation on Moyse, an anonymous text attemptedly dated

2 Johannes Duijkerius, Het Leven van Philopater, 1991 [1691] pp. 83–84.

to around 1710. This essay draws on the long-standing Hermetic linkage of Moses with Egyptian magic to undermine his claims to originality and divine inspiration, but culminates in a shrill attack on the enduring obstinacy of superstition of contemporary Jews.' HAS particularly strident hosülity towards Judaism is expressed in the Nouvelle Moysade: a text presented as the story of a traveler in search of wisdom and truth. The mock-innocent narrator reports his approach to the Jews, 'in the hope of at last finding truth'. Instead, though, he finds only 'fanaticism. .., impertinence and absurdity, barbarism and savagery.” The narrator then offers a detailed and scandalized report of his discovery of the Jewish Bible, dwelling on the dis-tastefulness of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, Noah's drunkenness. and above all Moses' fanatical tyranny.' He rejoices at the Jews' historical fate, celebrating the irony that dispersal and misery have been the destiny of the chosen people of a supposedly true, loving and merciful God, and concludes with a rhetorical address to them: 'And you, furious people, vile and coarse men, deserving slaves to the yoke that you bear, go, take away your books, and get away from me'.°

The extreme ferocity of this text extends beyond the level neces-sary for argumentative force or polemical effect, and suggests a deeper, frustrated anger. No amount of rationalist satire could dis-lodge the Jewish Bible from its foundational position in the Judaeo-Christian view of history. The anomalous survival of the Jews and their texts were a persistent reminder of the inconclusiveness of attempts to establish a fully convincing counter-history. In an era prior to the development of archaeology and rigorous linguistic analysis, clan-destiny polemicists—hke Voltaire, a generation later had no serious extra-textual evidence with which to challenge the Bible. They could

∗ Dissertation on Moses, MS Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, 1194, 59-111; Ira O. Wade, The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 (001450,01058 pp 0158".

PJ spp. 59 107.

∗ La Nouvelle Moysade, MS Aix 10, p. 2.

® Jbid., 3: 'I think I am wandering in the field of imposture: everything bears the scourg fanaticism, everything is marked by impertinence and absurdity, by bar-Barrie and ferocity!

"Pia, p. L7.

° Jbid., pp. 16-18: 'And you, furious people, vile and coarse men, worthy Slaves of the yoke you bear, go, take up your books, and depart from Me.

only reiterate familiar anti-biblical arguments with increasing emphasis
Tency and violence.

Dislodging the authority of the Bible required establishing an alter-
native account of the history of the Jews. One of the most widely
circulated clandestine manuscripts, the Opinions of the Ancients on the Jews,
attempted to address this question. This lengthy text, consisting of
four loosely connected sections, was assembled at some stage before
1722 by Jean Baptiste de Mirabaud (1675-1760), secretary of the
French Academy.” Citing a wide range of classical sources, including-
ing Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Plutarch, Juvenal, Horace and Martial,
the text concludes that the ancients' hatred of the Jews was universal
sal, and that 'people felt they had good reasons to hate and despise
them'. The Jews deserved contempt because of their absurd cus-
toms, their despicable character, and the fact that they themselves
hated everybody else.'" Above all, though, the Jews were despised
because of their credulous belief in the absurd miracles contained in
their scriptures. 'The unstated but unmistakable underlying intention
of this text is to undermine the authority of Christianity by dis-
crediting the judgment of its earhest Jewish disciples. However, Jews
history, both biblical and non-biblical, almost exclusively bears the
polemical brunt of this argument.

A different historiographical strategy is exemplified by Henri de
Boulainvilliers: Abridged Universal History Up to the Exodus.
here advances to rationalist interpretation of Genesis and Exodus that
clearly bears the stamp of Spinoza's influence. Closely echoing the
first chapter of the Tractatus Theologico-Polihcus, Boulainvilliers asserts
that the ancient Hebrews' fearful notion of God was a product of
their profound scientific ignorance: all awesome natural phenomena
were attributed to the supernatural power of God. However, Bou-
lainvilliers offers a very different interpretation of the early history
of other civilizations. In contrast to the superstitious Hebrews, he
argues that the Chinese and the Egyptians had a much purer notion
of the Divinity.!® While surmising that the lifestyle of the Jews
Patriarchs was 'more or less the same as that led today by the desert

9 Wade, Clandestine Organization, pp. 20521.

10 Opinions of the Ancients on the Fuifs, MS Bibliothèque Nationale, NAF, 4369, p. 182.
1 Jhid.

12 Abridged Universal History Up to the Exodus, MS National Library FF 6363.

® Jhidesppl534.

Arabs','! he emphasizes the much greater sophistication of Egyptian culture. He then goes on to cover Egyptian history in much more extensive detail than his treatment of the Bible."

Taking his lead from the seventeenth-century prioritization of Egyptian chronology and culture by John Marsham and John Spencer, Boulainvilliers applied this theory in a deliberately polemical manner. Although the title of his text invites the expectation of a history conventionally based on the Old Testament narrative, Boulainvilliers im fact offers an anti-biblical counter-history, in which Jewish history is systematically deprivileged and the contrasting sophistication of the Egyptians maximized. While ostensibly engaging in a serious exercise cise of comparative cross-cultural history, Boulainvilliers' effective concern, like that of most of the clandestine manuscript authors, 1s almost exclusively polemical.

Voltaire repeatedly asserted that he found the Jews a distasteful subject. 'It is with regret that I discuss the Jews: this nation is, in many respects, the most detestable ever to have sullied the earth', he writes in the article on 'Tolerance' in his Dictionaire Philosophique."" In this essay, however, he repeatedly returns to Jewish themes; ace he does in the volume as a whole, almost a third of which consists of sustained attacks on the Pentateuch.!""Despite his professed desire to dismiss the Jews as a historical irrelevance and a cultural embargo rassment, Jews populate his writings more ubiquitously than anv other people. This structural contradiction arches over a cluster of fundamental intellectual paradoxes that mark Voltaire's approach to Judaism, the Jewish Bible and Jewish history. These paradoxes directly echo those encountered in the earher work of Mirabaud, Boulanwilliers and other clandestine polemicists. They drift from the tension, encountered by all these writers, between the desire to historicize the Bible, and simultaneously to polemicize against it.

Voltaire's vast historical work, the Essay on Customs (1756) has been widely recognized as a landmark in historiography. In this majestic, sprawling survey, he advanced a new vision of 'universal

Sidekick 1A6:

15 Jbid., 178–348.

Voltaire, Philosophical Dictionary, in Complete Works, ed. Louis Moland, 1877–85, vol. IE, pp. 517–518.

7 David Levy, 'Voltaire and his exegesis of the Pentateuch', Studies in Voltaire and the Eightenth Century, 130, 1975, p. 223.

VOLTAIRE IN CONTEXT 1

history', based not on events, but on the distillation of the cultural 'spirit of nations and past eras.® This project, however, was also pointedly polemical: the message of the Essa, and of its emphasis on the moral sophistication of non-Christian societies, was to highlight the detrimental influence of priesthoods in general, and the Christian priesthood in particular.” Voltaire's most explicit target was Bossuet's Discourse on Universal History (1681). This incorporation of all history into the framework of the Bible was not in fact universal at all, Voltaire argued, but merely an account of 'four or five peoples, and mostly of the small Jewish nation, which has either been ignored or justly despised by the rest of the world'.?° In the Essa he pointedly almost ignored the Jews, giving them only to brief mention subsumed within his lengthy section on the Arabs. Jews history, as recounted in the Old Testament, was for Voltaire anti-history, in deliberate contrast to which he forged his own historical narratives.

Voltaire's unfavorable comparison of Judaism to the superior cultural achievements of other civilizations draws on the long-standing tradition, from Spencer to Toland, of emphasis on the sophistication of ancient Egypt. His most direct antecedent, though, is Boulainvilliers” Abbregé. Voltaire closely echoes Boulainvilliers” juxtaposition of Egyptian wisdom and Chinese simplicity to the primitivism of the ancient Hebrews.?' The bitingly satirical tone of Voltaire's belittling of Jewish history is much bolder than Boulainvilliers” playfully subversive irony, but the substance of their arguments is very similar.

However, Voltaire's repeated portrayal of the ancient Jews as inveterate imitators stand at odds with his professed historiographical aim to demonstrate the general principles of cultural mfluence between civilizations. 'AI nations... often imitate the cults and ceremonies of others', he writes in the introduction to the Essai.” He follows

8 See JH Brumfitt, Voltaire Historian, Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1958, esp.

M6l=70.
PFis This point is made by Carl Becker, in The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Phalosophers, 1932, p. 111.

2 Voltaire, The Pyrrhonism of History, in Complete Works, ed. Louis Moland, vol. VII 257

2 See Benitez, Miguel, 'The Elsewhere in Clandestine Literature: China as argument” in dem, The Hidden Face of the Enlightenment, 1996.

2? Voltaire, Essay on Customs, in Complete Works, ed. Moland, v. XI, p. 15.

this observation with a long excursus highlighting the foreign origins of many Jewish traditions: the principle of cultural transmission that he has just presented as universal is immediately applied to the Jews in the very different spirit of a hostile exposition of hypocrisy. History. for Voltaire, is constitutively and irreducibly oppositional to the Bible. He thus applies his historical methodology not in order to reinter- ready the Jewish past, but solely to discredit its leading source. This leads him, like so many of his intellectual antecedents, into a class sic Enlightenment paradox. While demanding that the Jews renounce their claim to a privileged place in history, Voltaire simultaneously refuses, or is unable, to evaluate them according to normal histori- cal standards.

A similar suppressed tension suffuses Voltaire's attacks on the Jewish Bible. The Old Testament, as we have seen, is in his eyes simply a collection of confused, absurd stories that are utterly worth- less as historical evidence. However, he nevertheless uses this same text as the basis for his allegations of the exceptional barbarism, immorality and primitiveness of the ancient Jews. To take just one example: he ridicules the biblical account of the slaughter of the Midianites as impossibly exaggerated, but also cites the biblical figure Of 23,000 massacred victims as evidence of the Jews' appalling blood- thirstiness."* Voltaire describes Scripture on two incompatible grounds, as both utterly discredited and uniquely scandalous. These twin accu- sations are frequently clided together, masking the incoherence of simultaneously rejecting the authority of the Jewish Bible and using it as a source for anti-Jewish polemics.

The essential features of Voltaire's approach to Judaism are clearly foreshadowed by several earlier anticlerical thinkers. The themes of Voltaire's attacks—Jewish barbarism, primitivism, superstition and stupidity——reiterate those of many of the carlier French clandestine manuscripts, as well as other early eighteenth-century writings by English Deists such as Matthew 'Tindal.!" The importance of the English Deists in providing a source for Voltaire's critiques of the Old 'Testament was noted long ago by Norman Torrey. The clan-

© Voltaire, Philosophical Dictionary, M.xix. 526-7; 'One Christian against six Jews', Mixxix. pp. 510-11; God and men, M.xxvin. p. 172.

** On Tindal, Voltaire and Judaism, see Norman L. Torrey, Voltaire and the English Bass; 1950pp. 12829!

destiny nature of French philosophical radicalism in this period makes

tracing its diffusion more difficult, but we know that Voltaire possessed to number of early eighteenth-century clandestine texts. Ira Wade, in his early study of this literature, has very plausibly surmised that early eighteenth-century French clandestine radicalism was a key influence on his work."

The question of influence, however, is of much less significance than that of the structural centrality of anti-Judaic rhetoric to the arguments of both Voltaire and his forerunners. Judaism uniquely bighlighted the limits of the historiographical logic of the Enlightenment. While aspiring to interpret the past of all people on an equal basis, eighteenth-century rationalists were unable to transcend the level of polemic, above all against the biblical account of history, and against its eternally over-determined careers: the Jews.

Voltaire was by no means the first historian to be caught within this gap between the claims and the capabilities of Enlightenment reason. The ethical inadequacy of the Old Testament narrative, at least according to seventeenth-century Protestant standards, had been exhaustively explored by Pierre Bayle in his Historical Dictionary and review (1697). However, whereas for Bayle the incommensurability of the ancient Jews' moral standards and their divine election was a key manifestation of the inscrutably mysterious relationship between reason and faith, for Voltaire the same biblical passages simply provide a springboard for piercing and scurrilous satire. The parallels between Voltaire and Bayle have also been studied in detail. Voltaire's use of the supposedly unedifying scriptural episodes highlighted by Bayle was, however, filtered through two generations of English and French Deistic radicalism. These intervening abandoned generations Bayle's sense of the historical mysteriousness of the Jewish Bible, turning instead to polemical onslaught on this text, not only because of its status as the textual basis for Christianity, but also precisely because of its resistance to alternative historical explanation.

Voltaire is the inheritor of this frustrated anger, and his most eloquent, obsessive and violent exponent. Judaism concerns Voltaire because it encapsulates the residue of myth and tradition that is

2% Jra Wade, Clandestine Organizahon, 274–5; idem, The Intellectual Development of

Voltaire, 1969, pp. 511–65.
2% See Haydn Mason, Pierre Bayle and Voltaire, 1963.

impervious to his Enlightenment critique. Attempting to demolish biblical myth with logical reason, his attacks slide off their target, unable to find an effective grip. His use of internal textual evidence

to expose the logical contradictions of Scripture cannot undermine the authority of the Bible as myth. His circular argument is dependent dent on precisely what it aims to destroy. It is therefore inevitably inconclusive, and achieves its impact not through logic but, through sheer rhetorical power. It is this that drives Voltaire's relentless repetition, with increasing ferocity as his writing career progressed. of the barbarism, immorality and insignificance of the Jews.

LEARNED JUDEOPHOBIA IN GERMANY OF LIGHTS: JOHANN DAVID MICHAELIS

Dominique Bourel

Johann David Michaelis is not entirely unknown in France! He was one of the best orientalists of his time and his work perputs an end to touching on the relationship between Pietism and the Enlightenment with the Judaism. Finally, it offers a remarkable opportunity to question on a phenomenon that will be found throughout the 19th century* and the 20th century, that of scholarly Judeophobia, of anti-Semitism experts. We will therefore quickly present his biography along with his his original milieu 'Halle,' and that of his activities (Göttingen) then his relations with Moses Mendelssohn and finally his refutation of the famous Christian Wilhelm Dohm's work On the Political Reformation of the Jews published in 1781.

He was born in 1717 in Halle, the center of Prussian Pietism but also metropolis of European Orientalism, Jewish and rabbinical studies and even 'Palestinian'." His father, Christian Benedikt Michaelis (1680-1764) was a professor of Oriental languages at the university and was one of the collaborators of the Institutum fudaicum created by Johann Heinrich Callenberg (1694-1760, in 1728 whose archives are still in existence today) "Today a mine for research." His great-uncle Johann Heinrich Michaelis (1668-1738) successor to the chair of Orientalism of August

' [1 figure prominently in Léon Poliakov's History of Anti-Semitism, vol. III, From Voltaire to Wagner, Calmann-Levy, Paris, 1968, pp. 185, 193-194, 206 but has almost disappeared-along with the index-in the new edition, Paris, 1981, vol. IL, pp. 77-78. See also the enlightening pages, despite some errors by Georges. Gusdorf, The Origins of Hermeneutics, Paris, 1988, pp. 133-134. His Introduction to The New Testament was translated by J.J. Chenevière, Geneva 1822. I am deeply grateful to the collaborators of the manuscripts department of the Miedersächsische Staatsand the University Library of Göttingen for their help during my work on the papers de Michaelis, cited in Cod. Mich.

2 Hendrik Budde and Mordechai Levy (Hgg.) Von Halle nach ferusalem. Halle, ein Zentrum der Palästinakunde im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, Halle, 1994 as well as Eveline Goodman-Thau and Walter Beltz (Hgg.) Von Halle nach Jerusalem, Halle, 1994.

3 Walter Beltz (Hg.) Übersetzungen und Übersetzer im Verlag JH Callenberg, Halle, 1995.

Hermann Francke in Halle is the editor of the Biblia Hebraica (1720) one of the very first almost critical editions! It exceeded in value that of another great Hebraist—who was reading a page of Talmud a Day—The Calvinist Hofbrediger Daniel Ernst Jablonski (1660-1741)—published in Berlin in 1699.

Michaelis studied at the university in Halle from 1733. He will be particularly influenced by the teachings of the theologian Sicgmund Jacob Baumgarten and will deepen — with his father — the Hebrew bibh- that and Michnique as well as Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopian. Halle is a major center for Jewish, rabbinic, and even 'palestui-' studies nology'. Professors are also often asked to give their 'opinion' (Gutachten) on questions posed by the works of the Jews.

In 1741 he began a two-year study trip to Holland and in England. In Leiden, he met Albert Schultens and in London He assists the German pastor at the royal court. In Oxford, he listens to the Robert Lowth's (1710-1787) famous lectures on sacred poetry of the Hebrews. Michaelis would later edit these lessons with notes and epimetra.'

In 1742 he returned to Halle where he taught and was 'called back' in 1745 in the new Göttingen University® which he will never leave again. Professor 'extraordinary' in 1746, then 'ordinary' in 1750 he exercised

∗ Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, 'Johann Heinrich Michaelis and the Seine Bible Hebraica von 1720' in Norbert Hinske (Hg.) Halle. Aufklärung und Pietismus, Heidelberg, 1989, pp. 15-64.

3 Udo Arnoldi. Pro Zudaeis. Die Gutachten der hallischen Theologen im 18. Gahrhandert zur Frage der Fudentoleranz, Berlin, 1993. JD Michaelis, Lebensbeschreibung (. . . .) Rint Leipzig 1793 Hans-Jaochim Krauss, Geschichte der hastorisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alt Testaments (1956), Neukirchen 1982 (3rd.ed), Rudolf Smend, 'Johann David Michaelis and Johann Gottfried Eichhorn. Zwei Orientalisten am Rand der Theologie' in Bernd Möller (ed.) Theologie in Güttingen. Güttingen 1987, pp. 58-81 and especially the monograph by Anna Ruth Lowenbrück, Judenfemdsehaft un <eutalter der Aufkläruns. In Study of the Vorgeschichte des modernen Antisemitismus am Beispiel des Güttinger Theologer Orientalist JD Michaelis (1717-1791), Frankfurt aM Bern 1995.

° Robert Lowth, De sacra poesis Hebraeorum (. . ....) 1753, revised in 1763. There is a French translation of this fundamental work, Lessons on Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, by M. Sicard, Avignon, 1812 (reprinted 1839). For the poetic stakes and theological see James Kugel, The Idea of Biblical Poetry. Parallelism and its History,

New Haven, 1981, Baltimore-London, 1998.

7 Roberti Lowth AM Collegi Novi Socii et Poeticae Publici Praelectoris de Sacra Poesi Hebracorum Praelectione Academicae Oxoniae habitae (.....). Notes and epimetra adiecit loannes David Michaelis (....) Goettingae 1758 1761.

© In the immense literature on this university, Luigi Marino, Praeceptores Germaniae. Güttingen 1770-1820, Göttingen, 1995 (or. ital. Torino 1975) and Rudolf Vierhaus (Hg) Wissenschafien im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Gottingen, 1985.

cera will spend his entire life in the faculty of philosophy and not in that of theology, where a strict Lutheran orthodoxy still reigned, but without the right of censorship; he will even teach a little dogma- tic. Göttingen was, at the time, the most important of the universities Germans, and he is one of its most effective cogs. Secretary of the Royal Academy in 1751, he took over its direction in 1761. He began to publish in the Gottingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen which he directed between 1753 and 1770 and later founded one of the first- one of the orientalist journals, the Orientalische und exegetische Bibliothek (1771-1785) followed by the Neue ortentalische und exegetische Bibliothek (1786-1793) of which He was both the editor-in-chief and practically the sole author. These thirty or so volumes are a perfect illustration of knowledge exegetic of the time. His activity as an Arabist is somewhat less successful. known for its merits in the foundation of the historical method He was a critic of the Bible. He translated Abulfida's Description of Egypt. (9785 1331) ten Latin é)ret will succeed in convincing Roïtde Denmark's Frederick V to 'sponsor' an expedition to the south from Arabia.

We know that Carsten Niebuhr led this expedition (1761-1767) of which he would be the only one to return; his stories were translated into all the major European languages. It was Michaelis who had compiled a collection of questions proposed to a society of scholars who by orders of His Danish Majesty make the journey to Arabia." This geo- activity the graph of the Near and Middle East will greatly help him in his com- Bible commentaries; he will also publish a Sprclenium geographiae hebraeorum exterae post Bochartum (Güttinguae 1769-1780). In his Dussertaho of punctorum hebraerorum antiguitate (1739) he argues for the ancient origin points used to read Hebrew, as he recalls in his Hebrew grammar." He would very quickly return to this position, thus that we can read it in Beurtheilung der Mittel, welche man anwendet, die ausgestorbene hebräische Sprache zu verstehen.'" Recognizing the merit to the Jewish grammarians between the 10th and 12th centuries, he adds that the Modern Jews are by no means the best judges in this matter;

® Frankfurt am Main 1763 (or. all. Frankfurt am Main 1762). See Henry Laurens, The intellectual origins of the Egyptian expedition. Islamic Orientalism in France (1698-1

Istanbul–Paris, 1987, pp. 223, 232–233.

10 Hebrew Grammatk. Nebst einem Anhang von gründlicher ErkenntmB derselben, Halle,
IT PASSES

Göttingen, 1757.

Indeed, it is no longer their mother tongue and they have to learn it.
dre 'like us'. Moreover, since they know neither Greek nor the
In Latin, they cannot fulfill the function of the Greek scholastics. This which
is a huge difference from Arabic. He even goes so far as to regret-
to explain the lack of appetite for the Vulgate in Protestant circles.
For him, Parabe, as well as the dialects of the Orient, are fundamental.
rate for intelligence in Hebrew. He wins the Academy's prize
of the sciences alongside the literature of Berlin, which he would refuse to attend.
so much to be elected, despite the efforts of many, including d'Alembert. The
The question was: 'What is the reciprocal influence of the opinions of a
People on language and language on opinions?”® The version
The augmented French edition was widely read, but he was not at all satisfied.
of the translation.!* He shows himself in favor of regional dialects and
dialects. Throughout his life he published grammars of
Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac, as well as seven volumes
mes des Supplementa ad lexica hebraica. (Gôttuingen 1784–1798). [] through
He translated and commented on the Bible, both testaments, the Old Testament (1769–1783)
and the New (1778–1790, 1790–1792). But when his
Einleitung in die gothic Schrifien des alten Bundes in 1787. it is already
scientifically outdated, which is not the case for its introduction-
tion to the New Testament. He is at the same time an excellent vul-
a guard who is very interested in the ealia, archaeology, and who
will desperately try to save a moderate orthodoxy with the exa-
men of the sources which is no longer the ertica sacra: As summarized
perfectly Georges Gusdorf:*

Michaelis' interpretation recognizes the rights of reason and of the
criticism, within the limits of an orthodoxy reduced to the bare minimum;
the text is no longer untouchable, and inspiration is reduced to the essentials
But above all, exegesis is not limited to the literal study of the text.
Biblical science far surpasses philology in scope.
Hebrew; it includes knowledge of space-time, geography and
history, institutions, customs, and mentality. If one does not want
not to misinterpret the biblical document, we must react-

© Daniel Droixhe, Linguistics and the Call of History (1600–1800). Rationalism and
positive revolutions, Droz, Geneva, 1978, pp. 374–480.

On the influence of opinions on language and of language on opinions, trans. by André

Pierre Le Guay de Prémontval and Jean Bernard Mérian, Bremen, 1762, reprint Stuttgart, 1974. The large file in the Michaelis Cod. Mich. archives documents the difficulties of The translation. The German text appeared in Berlin in 1760.

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towards the concrete situation within which it was formed, in its rehef vivant, always implied, and that the exegete must be able to to follow.

Before his death in 1791, he received all the honors, for example that of foreign associate member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Letters from Paris." His lecture halls were full and he was studied and read as much by Protestants as by Catholics and Jews, in relationship with all the scholars of his time. His archives deposited at Göttingen contains hundreds of letters, of which only a tiny fraction has been published; ° her immense knowledge still discourages unfortunate- too many researchers, as he has deterred his few translators of 18th and 19th centuries: Jean Bernard Merian, one of the bridges between French and German speakers in Berlin write:

To get your book (On Influence) read in French, you need to accompany it to moderate the genius of this language: that is why it will be necessary, I believe, to "saire de renvoi dans les passages chargés de erudition."?

Similarly, Sicard will prune:

As for Mr. Michaelis' notes and the additions he made to of the work itself, we have translated or abridged some parts; we We have omitted a greater number of them, despite their distinguished merit. their author |...) Indeed, many of these notes have only a relation- tion distant from sacred poetry, and relates more to erudition in general; in such a way that they divert attention from the main subject- main, and deviate from Mr. Lowth's plan. Some are aimed at the criticism and interpretation of the Hebrew text, in which Michaelis has very often recourse to the Arabic language and other Eastern idioms rates. It's easy to feel that they have even less to do with Sacred poetry, and that they can only be suitable for those who apply themselves to it. related to the study of these languages. '*

The debate with Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) began as early as 1754. one year before the first publications (1755) of the latter." In

15 Dacier to Michaelis, March 22, 1789. His relations with France deserve a study since he is linked, in addition to the Capuchin Louis de Poix with Pastoret, de Sa Barhélémy, de Guignes, de Villoison and Abbé Guenée, the scholar and adversary of Voltaire

16 JG Buhle (Hg.) Laterarische Bnefwechsel von Johann David Michaelis, Leipzig, 1784–1795. See for example Ronald Grimsley, J.D. Michaelis and J. d'Alembert' in Revue de Literature Comparée, xxx (1959), pp. 258–261.

17 Mérian to FD Michaehs, December 25, 1759, Cod. Mich. 326.

18 Op. cit. 1839 edition, intr. p. XV.

® Karlfried Gründer, 'Johann David Michaelis and Moses Mendelssohn' in Jacob

In effect, upon the publication of Lessing's play Die Juden, Michaelis published a venomous review of this piece, one of the first to pre- to present a positive description of a Jew on stage:

The unknown traveler is in every way so good, so noble, so concerned about not harming his neighbor and not not to insult him with suspicion without proof, so cultured that he is not impossible—but too improbable—that in this people with principles, a hostile, or at least cold, way of life and education, vis-à-vis Christians, a [negotiation] may form, practically on its own, a such a noble soul (.....). But common truth and honesty do not find- wind is also so rare among this people that the few examples do not does not diminish the hatred against him as much as one might wish."

Mendelssohn then wrote to one of the young #askilim of Berlin, the doc-

author Aron Emerich Gumperz (1723–1769):

These thoughts make me blush with shame. I am not in a state to express- Sea, everything they made me feel. What a humiliation for our A nation in dire straits! What exaggerated contempt! The common people of Christians tiens has always treated us like nature's excrement, like the ulcers of human society. But, coming from a scholar, I expect- dais to a more moderate judgment; of those, I even supposed the unlimited moderation, which we are usually criticized for lacking all the time"!

Michaelis took this letter, which was disclosed to the public and even

translated into French. He will write a positive report of the Dialogues
Philosophical Works (1755) without knowing that Nfendelssohn was the author,
"For which the latter warmly thanks him"? 'Your approval–
your teaching will delight me, your criticism will teach me, and both will encourage me
will help me progress in my thinking.'

The two men would converse throughout their lives, without ever meeting again.
to counter, through reviews and letters, recommending themselves
visitors mutually. Mendelssohn writes an account
praise for the Academy Award won by Michaclis in the Brief
die neueste Latteratur betreflend, of which he was one of the principal animators.

Katz and Karl Heinrich Rengstorf (Hgg.) Begegnung von Deutschen und Juden in der
Geistesgeschichte des 18. Fahrhunderts, Tübingen 1994, pp. 25–50 and naturally
Alexander Altmann, Moses Mendelssohn. At Biographical Study, London–Philadelphia,
1973. There are about twenty letters between the two authors.

∗ GGA, June 13, 1754, pp. 620–622.

We are quoting from the critical edition begun in 1929 and continued by Alexander
Altmann, Stuttgart 1971sq. and directed today by Eva Engel, ub.4. 11, 9–13.

∗ GGA, May 29, 1755, Mendelssohn to Michaehs, September 7, 1755, Jub.A. 11, 15 –16.

In my opinion, one of the most important works we have on
this subject. This task requires far more than mere linguistic erudition.
In terms of culinary arts, it also requires a deep knowledge of opinions and
A capacity for philosophical judgment. Talents that are rare.
∗ ingrediently gathered into one person.∗

Michaelis, for his part, was a very attentive observer of the affair.
Lavater–re–examined today with fresh eyes–during which
Mendelssohn had been summoned to either refute a work by Charles
Bonnet (translated and prefaced by Lavater) or to convert. This
Michaelis, like almost all of Berlin's intelligentsia,
took Mendelssohn's side, much to the latter's satisfaction?!

Mendelssohn sends him a comment to Kohelet®” in which he
does not hesitate to indicate that he liked and quoted his paraphrase.∗ When he
published the first volume in 1770 of his Mosaic Law, of which we
We'll talk about it later; Michaelis is delighted to send him:

My dearest Sir,

You stand out in such an exceptional way because of a
philosophical reflection on divine legislation, in relation to the most
a large part of the people to whom Moses gave his civil laws, which I
I believe that a book, in which precisely the commandments are
examined from a philosophical point of view, one cannot find a better reading.
author and judge than you. I therefore take the liberty of sending you the
The first part of my mosaic law, which has just been published.
contains absolutely no controversy with the Jewish religion
Ours, only against those who criticize the laws of Moses and who
want to suspect his laws by saying that these laws are perfectly
granted according to the conditions of the country and its people, and therefore would be
better not only for the Israelites but also for all peoples."

Our protagonists also correspond on the Psalms they translate-
both of them. Mendelssohn is quite eager to read the tra-
Michaelis's production:

23 Fub.A. 5/1 (1991) pp. 105 118 (LB.13 and 20 XII 1759).

GGA March 31, 1770, pp. 330-331 Jub.A. 12/1, 213.

25 Sefer Megillot Kohelet, Berlin, 1770, fub.A. 14, 145-207, and 12.1, 217 (Mendelssohn
to Michaehs, March 13, 1770).

2% Op. cit. 14, 160 and Poeñscher Entwuwf der Gedancken des Prediger Buchs Salomon,
Göttingen, 1751, Bremen, Leipzig, 1762 which contains a literal translation and a
poetic paraphrase.

2 Michachs to Mendelssohn, January 27, 1770, Jub.A. 12/1, 215.

2% ub.A. 10/1 2 where the learned editor Werner Weiïnberg compares the two versions.

I must admit that I am rather dissatisfied with all the translations.
psalms that I have seen up to today, with the poetic ones still
less than with those that are in prose. When—by chance—they
They render meaning, they pervert authentic Hebrew poetry to
cause of Western versification."

Michaelis's version will appear in 1771 and Mendelssohn's in
1785;

Among the topics that seem to greatly concern Michael, 1l
There's circumcision, and he asks Mendelssohn if it isn't a
average, as the great Albrecht von Haller thought —a time
he too a professor in Göttingen—to prevent any masturbation."

It would be more painful for the Jews than for the Gentiles.
Mendelssohn denies that this reason is correct, recalls the dictum tal-
Mudique yad la ama tekatzes (Shab. 108b) according to which 'the maim carried
on the male member, that it be cut off' and take the opportunity to correct
an error by Johann Buxtorf*!

Michaelis gives a glowing account of the Ritualgesetie der fuden.
treatise on rabbinic law compiled by Nendelssohn for the self-
Prussian rites" under the authority of the Chief Rabbi of Berlin, Hirschel
Levin and published in 1778. This work will not only interest the
He is a philologist but also a jurist; moreover, he is a pleasure to read. He is
also rather benevolent in his article on the attributed translation
apart from Markus Herz published in 1782 of the pamphlet by \enasseh ben
Israel, a sting for the Jews, written in 1656 for Cromwell. Mendelssohn
It also includes an important preface! almost exclusively the subject of
Michaelis' text, which accepts the rabbinical power to banish-
Mendelssohn refuses to lie. Or rather, 1 lies between the two
positions: the fact that Judaism is a minority explains why it su-
hates to give a positive image of himself and therefore he will punish
those whose behavior is contrary to its laws. This is the 'tyrant-
denies the rabbis' which offers a negative view to Christians that
condemns Mendelssohn. Regarding his translation of the Psalms
(1783), 1l does not believe much in the idea of pottic of the Hebrews.

* Mendelssohn to Michaels, November 12, 1770, fub.A. 12.1, p. 233.

7 Michaelis to Mendelssohn, March 8, 1771, Jub.A. 12/2, pp. 6-8.

* Mendelssohn to Michaels, April 10, 1771, fub.A. 12/2, pp. 8-10 and pp. 208-209.
I thank Simon Schwarzfuchs for explaining this passage to me.

**Ritualgesetze der Juden (1778) in fub.A. 7, 109-251, OEB XIII, 1778, pp. 72-77.

Menasseh ben Israel, a critic of the Jews. Translated and annotated by Lionel Ifrah, Edi
du Cerf, Paris, 1995,

#Jub. 8, 1-25, EPO, XX (1782ppp. 8-18.

I readily agree that it is pleasant to read, but not always
in accordance with... 'our German'. Finally, it is the great phi- work
The latter's philosophical work, Jerusalem, or Religious Power and Judaism (1783)
to which Michaelis will devote no less than forty pages
illuminating and quite accurate in his review.* His attention is focused on
to focus on the second part; he shows that for Mendelssohn the essence
Judaism seems to come solely from the Bible. He doesn't hide it.
his assent and congratulates him on confiding that Judaism does not tar-
There are no eternal, indispensable, and exclusive truths for salvation.

men. In reality, Mendelssohn describes a theocracy without men.
to use the word "loir" (dormouse), one wonders why. Michaelis prefers
of many good Jews—including Mendelssohn—as well as converts,
where delinquents and troublemakers are recruited. Not only-
Mendelssohn is a good Jew, even a 'rabbanite'. In short,
He fully understood that Mendelssohn would defend to the very end.
the commandments of the Torah. But he also noted that
Mendelssohn said nothing about the Messiah or the return to Palestine.
one of Michaelis's great anti-Judaic arguments.

The latter respected Mendelssohn throughout his life, his figure as
his writings, but, like many others (Hamann for example),
he could not understand how the Enlightenment man could remain a
good Jew. Mendelssohn, who knew how to appreciate his erudition, seems to have
I quickly understood the danger that such an expert could represent.
far more competent than many strong-willed, malicious and
ignorant. One of his best works on the Jewish world is the
Mosaisches Recht."

This is a book that is aimed not only at philologists and
Orientalists, but also to jurists and contemporary Christians. E'ori-
The precise gine of the work is a prwahissimum that a Danish jurist
Olaus Rabenius, in charge of drafting a constitution —11

5% OEB XXII (1783) pp. 46-58.

3 Jub.A. 8, 99-204, OEB 22 XXII (1783) pp. 59-99 and 165-170.

1770-1775, reprinted several times. English and Danish translations exist.
as well as a summary in French, Bordeaux, 1785. See Rudolf Smend, 'Aufgeklärte
Bemühung um das Gesetz. Johann David Michaelis Mosaisches Recht® in Wenn nicht
jetzt, wann deun? Aufsätze für Hans Joachim Kraus zum 65. Geburtstag hg. von Hans Georg
Geyer et alii., Neukirchen 1983, pp. 129-139 and the superb article by Jonathan M.
Hess, 'JD Michaelis and the Colonial Imaginary: Orientalism and the Emergence
of Racial-Antisemitism in Eighteenth-Century Germany' in Jewish Social Studies, New
York, 6:3 (2000) pp. 56-101, which we follow.

will become a professor in Uppsala - he had been asked in 1757 on the
Mosaic law. [He wishes to follow the Spirit of the Laws and apply it to
Time of Moses. Composed of six parts, strongly constructed in
In 307 paragraphs, he skillfully presents an immense mass of
knowledge using, for example, the works of Carsten Niebuhr
and his work on the Old Testament. There he expresses himself without ambiguity
his admiration for ancient Judaism. He identifies traces of the law
Egyptian and fixes the major joints, civil law/private law, then
property, persons, obligations, war, blood crime, testimony.
trials, etc. It is evident that Mosaic law does not oblige Christians-

Well, he is divine and wise, contrary to what people think.
Deists. Politically, Moses and his law are always used to
to argue for the divine origin of royalty. For Michaelis, this is very
exaggerated; the kings of Israel are not as absolute as they are said to be and
would be more in favor of a constitutional monarchy. These laws
do not come directly from God but are largely borrowed-
ties to the Egyptians. Moses improves an older Jus consuetinarium.
For Michaelis, Egypt is a model of gentle expansion. of eco-
controlled economy. The liberation from Egypt allows the Israelites to pro-
to aggress against humanity by imitating them. But he is keen to refute any
continuity between the ancient Hebrews and modern Jews. These are
the Arabs who would be the true heirs of the Israelites. It is necessary to consider-
to describe these laws as those of a distant land and remnants of the
the oldest legislative wisdom. It is, in a way, about establishing
the genealogy of our law. Overall, his judgment is quite
positive.

The public debate will truly begin with the publication of
Dohm's work Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden (17811 tra-
immediately translated into French as *De la Réforme politique des Jufs*
(Dessau, 1782). We know about it through Paolo's meticulous investigation.
Bernardini* the extraordinary echo of this little book. Michaclis in re-
"I will conduct a lengthy review." Dohm's book had not been very
appreciated in Göttüingen since, before Michaelis's long study, was
a very vindictive article appeared in the Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen of

_* Paolo Bernardini, La questione ebraica nel tardo illuminismo tedesco. Studio intorno al
'Uber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der uden' (1781), Firenze, 1992. We have reissued
with an introduction and notes the French translation of 1782 (Paris, 1984).

% OEB XIX (1782) pp. 1-40.

December 1, 1781. Michaelis immediately wrote to Dohm to him
to say that he was not the author of this criticism which claimed that the
religion played no role in the exceptional state in which the
Jews were kept there. Indeed, it was their character, depraved since
Antiquity, which placed them on the margins of society. For as long
If they remained Jewish, they would be ostracized by it. This text, quite
hateful, emanated from Michael Hissmann (1752-1784), professor of
philosophy in Göttingen, which had already attacked the Phaedo (1767)
Mendelssohn, which clearly shows that the Enlightenment, even in this
the city, was far from being accepted by everyone" and that the Jews continued
to be the target of attacks.*!

With this text by Michaelis, it was a debate of a completely different nature.
scope since he was one of the greatest experts of his time in

Jewish and Hebrew matters. This is why Dohm
will reprint the text in full in the second part of his work
published in 1783.* Dohm takes a position on this criticism, and we possess-
also sent a reaction from Mendelssohn to Dohm which he
printed following in this second volume.

Michaelis's critique is based on a careful reading of
Dohm's text, from which he extracts a few Judeo- phrases and paragraphs
phobes, acknowledging that the Jewish people are the worst and the
more rotten than any other European people (p. 33). It is obvious that
Jews commit more crimes than Germans. Let's remember
the entry of this epithet into the Orientalist lexicon because it is a
the first times that the term Christians was replaced by that
Germans focusing on the terms of the controversy and moving from
unconsciously responding to the question: 'What is German?' According to
In the case of theft reports, Jews are twenty-five times more likely to commit crimes.
than the Germans. Michaclis then mentions 'pride', the Natonalstolz,
linked to the election and affirms that Palestine will always remain the destin-
the ultimate nation of the Jews (p. 42).

A country that has such hopes will never be indigenous (einhermisch)
at least he doesn't have the patriotic love of his father's field and if he lives

#TL. Marino, op. cit. p. 252.

Stefan Brüdermann, Göttinger Studenten und akademische Gerichtsbarkeit im 18. ahrhundert
Gottingen, 1990 pp. 334, 361, 364-372, 393.

In this second volume, published in 1783, we find among the dossier compiled by
Dohm, Michaelis's review, OEB XIX (1782) pp. 1-40, can be found on pp. 31-71.
Mendelssohn's reaction, pp. 72-77 and Dohm's long development pp.
151-348.

separately...) is in danger of being lulled into illusion by a
enthusiastic or perhaps driven to madness by a charmer of
rat of Hameln (p. 43).

Then comes his major objection, which stems from the ancient accusation according to
which the Jews could not fight on Shabbat, which
Dohm had refuted this without difficulty. Moreover, while the Germans
die in the war -he is thinking of the Seven Years' War 1756-1763-
The Jews are reproducing. They are marrying younger, having more children,
healthier and will therefore eventually limit the natural increase
real of the German population. So we will soon have in Germany
a Jewish state (p. 46), a recurring fantasy in German culture,

from Luther to the anti-Semites of the Weimar Republic.

Certainly, we can refine our understanding of their participation in the war, but no
on the separatist nature of their food laws which prohibit
a common system. Furthermore, Michaelis doesn't want to trust
to their oath, here quoting Johann Andras Eisenmenger, another scholar-
said Lutheran orientalist, professor in Heidelberg and sadly famous-
br for his Entdecktes Judentum (1700) which he refutes in other
passages. For Michaelis, it's not even certain that we can
use them as colonists, except to send them to the islands to cultivate the
sugar cane (p. #1). Jonathan Hess convincingly demonstrated-
that this example was not chosen at random.

He then discusses some of Dohm's proposals, such as their
university entrance. How to award them the title of Doctor of Philosophy?
right, or to have judges from a foreign people (p. 58)? IH decon-
Seille advocates free access to university because he is generally opposed to
the increase in the student population, as he wrote in
his fascinating book on universities!" where he accuses Jews of being
responsible for the high cost of student life by raising
artificially inflated the price of clothing fashion, especially among
new arrivals. He refuses, however, to have them expelled from the cities
academics and advises them to buy... their libraries.
does not want to give them complete autonomy in business

% Räsonnement über die protestantischen Universitäten in Deutschland. Frankfurt, Leipzig,
1768-1776 (reed. Aalen 1973) for example, vol. IV, pp. 541-565, 700. See Hans
Georg Herrlitz and Hartmut Titze, 'Die Studiersucht der armen Leute: Gôttinger
Denkschrifien zur Uberfüllung der Universität im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert' in HGH
und Horst Kern (Hg.) Anfänge Gottinger Sociaheisenschafien ….. Gottinmgen, 1987, pp.

96-1264

civil, since he intends to thereby deepen the differences between Christians
hold on and Jews.

What is striking is the fact that Michaclis does not use his
immense orientalist knowledge to refute Dohm. For him, the eman-
Communication is a social and even ethnic issue: he speaks of a
'Southern race', although we know we shouldn't overuse this term
of race in the 17th century, in the works of Blumenbach and Christoph Meiners,
Unlike his colleagues in Göttingen, he lacks a sense of the 19th century.
According to Michaelis, Jews have no desire whatsoever to mix with others
peoples; Dohm wants to 'improve' the Jews; it's a lost cause, they don't
They will never integrate.

Dramatic is the substitution of the Christian epithet by that
of German. We find ourselves here at the root of a logic of a proxi-
A threatening mothballing, against a backdrop of fragility, since Germany, like
Such a thing had no political existence in the 17th century. Göttingen did
part of the Duchy of Hanover. This is already the dark, nocturnal aspect.
of the Enlightenment, which is born before our very eyes, where it was least expected."

For Michaelis, Judaism is degenerate, as it is for Dohm, but
not for the same reasons. Yet Mosaic Law testifies
of great admiration for Judaism, but relegated to anti-
left; to Mendelssohn he wrote of his happiness at being able to discuss the laws
of Moses without mentioning contemporary Judaism. Michaelis's conception
is only partly derived from theology but does not speak
more than deicide. This stems from his historical and political knowledge.
Ticks contribute to 'deorienting' the Jews. So the Jews are neither
authentic Orientals nor Europeans. They are not the des-
descendants of the Israelites, nor of modern people. We won't even be able to,
as Dohm wanted, to make them colonizers. Dohm believes he can-
Michaelis doesn't believe in seeing them 'regenerate'.

I, Marino, ®. cit. Friedrich Lotter, 'Christoph Meiners and the Lehre von der
Unterschiedlichen Wertigkeit der Menschenrasse' in Hartmut Boockmann und
Hermann Wellenreuther (Hgg.) Geschichtswrssenschaft in Güttingen, Göttingen, 1987, pp.
30 75. Christoph Meiners is much more openly Judeophobic, but in this debate
(which includes JF Blumenbach, I. Kant and JG Herder, at least) 1 liter is very, very suit
paying close attention to the precise chronology of the cited texts. We know that the adje
introduced by August Ludwig Schlözer in 1771 to distinguish a group of lan-
gues and the peoples who spoke them.

Rainer Erb and Werner Bergmann, Die Nachtseite der Judenemanzipation. Der
Widerstand gegen die Integration der Juden in Deutschland 1780-1860. Metropol, Berlin,
198%

Thus they are no longer quite oriental, not really
Europeans, and therefore even less so Germans. All this science
which was meant to help us understand, discover, and then respect the Other
will simply lead to denial. Contrary to what the
The Age of Enlightenment and the Aufklürung, 11 it is not enough to know for
To break free from prejudice and error. Knowledge alone is not enough to love.

REVOLUTION

Anti-Jewish rhetoric in the press
COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY 1789-1799

Ouzi Elyada

The campaign for the emancipation of Jews in France began in
the day after the storming of the Bastille. This campaign is transformed
very quickly into a media battleground. In the public sphere
free and democratic, which was established in France starting in the summer
In 1789, supporters and opponents of the Jews fought each other.
others using means of communication. They first use
of oral media: public speeches delivered in the Assembly
National, in clubs and on the street. But they also employ-
printed media, pamphlets, broadsides and especially
all periodical publications. Using these means of
communication, the Jews and their supporters try to shape a
Favorable public opinion will put pressure on revolutionary institutions
revolutionaries, particularly regarding the National Assembly. Facing them the
the group that most virulently opposed the Jews was the
anti-revolutionary right. From the summer of 1789, this group known as the
named after the 'Blacks' and led by deputies such as Abbé Maury,
is supported by some twenty periodical publications, including one
some are purely informational bodies like La Gazette de Paris
and others are satirical publications like the Joumal
of the Court and the City. Commercial enterprises are at the origin
of these publications, but a large part is also subsidized
approved by the Court's civil list.

In this text, we will examine how the right-wing press

! On the press of the anti-constitutional right, see JP Bertaud, Les Amis du
Roi, Librairie Académique Perrin, Paris, 1984. WJ. Murray, The Right Wing Press
in the French Revolution, 1789-1792, London, 1986. H. Chisik, The Production, Distributior
and Readership of a conservative journal of the early French Revolution: The Ami du Rot of
Abbé Royou, Philadelphia, 1992. Laurence Coudart, La Gazette de Pants: un journal roya-
list during the French Revolution, L'Harmattan, Paris, 1995.

Note: All the right-wing press cited in this article was consulted at the
National Library in Paris.

leads an anti-Jewish campaign, what stylistic and thematic strategies-
what techniques are used and with what effects.

The anti-revolutionary press and the Jews before February 1790

Until the end of December 1789, the right-wing press focused on

Very little about the Jewish question, and one even finds newspapers that support the Jews. This is the case of the Gazette de Paris, edited by De Rozoi, who praised Abbé Grégoire's book around mid-November on the Regeneration of the Jews," and published between November 15 and 18 a series of articles in which he provides a historical overview of the persecutions the suffering endured by the Jews, to conclude that immediate integration "Jews within the body of citizens are necessary."

A first change in the attitude of the Gazette de Paris to his attitude towards Jews is evident in his accounts of the debates of the National Assembly, at the end of December 1789, concerning the eligibility of non-Catholics in municipal positions. In this debate which took place between December 21 and 24, the anti-right-wing deputies Revolutionaries, and in particular Abbé Maury, violently opposed them. to grant Jews the rights of citizens. The Parisian newspaper La Gaïette reports

that Abbot Maury

spoke out against Jews and against comedians. He claimed that the the first could not, by the very influence of their Law, ever be good soldiers, good farmers, good craftsmen... the law of Moses has such- political and religious fundamentally linked, their connection is so great that it It is almost impossible for Jews to be French citizens, unless that they largely renounce the principles of the Law...

The author of this report does not add his own reflections to Maury's argument, however, he devotes more space to anti-Jewish rhetoric and only briefly mentions arguments in their favor.

While the Gazette de Paris is still somewhat hesitant, the others Counter-revolutionary news outlets clearly demonstrate

Gazette de Paris, November 11, 1789, this report refers to the book of Grégoire, Motion in Favor of the Jews, published in Paris in 1789. On this text, see David Feuerwerker, The Emancipation of the Jews in France, Albin Michel, Paris, 1976, pp. 49-152

∗ Gazette de Paris, November 15-18, 1789.

∗ Ibid., December 25, 1789. On this debate, see D. Feuerwerker, op. cit, pp. 320-327.

their choice. According to Fontenai's Le Journal Général de la France, 'Mr. Abbot Maury strongly opposed the opinions of Mr. Clermont-Tonnerre and he drew applause from the Assembly. While The

The Journal de Versailles praises Abbé Maury for having had '... the
It's courageous of you to present such valid ideas.

On January 28, 1790, the Assembly granted citizenship to
Jews of Bordeaux and Bayonne. (The Gazette de Paris, which we have seen)
still hesitant at the end of December 1789, now openly joins
[This appears to be a fragment and is left untranslated as it is unclear what the followir
In 1790, De Rozoi devoted a substantial article to the Jewish question. There,
he abandons his enlightened ideas on the need to grant rights
of the man to the Jews, and joins the reactionary opinions of the
clerical right. He speaks of this cursed people 'who had borne his
'bloodthirsty hands on the divine founder of a religion', he asks
SO

What interest could possibly motivate Jews to be active citizens, provided
That they should be happy? Haven't we already forgotten that the King of France was
Also, the Most Christian King, cannot he be King of the French without being
King of the Jews?'

The attack against the new revolutionary order thus compels the days
nationalists like De Rozoi, to abandon their personal support for
Jews and to join the ideology that aims to restore the Old Regime
and to restore the authority of the King and the Catholic Church. Anti-Semitism
traditionalism is already mixed here with political anti-Semitism which tries
to exclude Jews from the state apparatus.

The fact that the National Assembly grants citizens the right
The activities of Portuguese Jews did not prevent the right-wing press from continuing to
to soften its attacks. During the month of February 1790, this press tried
to create the impression that the Assembly's decision was very wrong
received by the Catholic population in the provinces. In its
In its February 12th issue, the Gazette de Paris reports that

the day the news of the decree issued in Bordeaux was received
favored by Jews, the young merchants who were at the Stock Exchange in
At that moment, indignant that the children of Israel were being likened to them,

5 General Journal of France, December 26, 1789. Journal of Versailles, No. 85, 28
December 1789.

5 D. Feuerwerker, 1bid., pp. 338-342.

Gazette de Paris, January 31, 1790. See also, Journal Général de France, No. 30.
January 31, 1790.

Immediately, proof of active citizens: They are hunting on the Stock Exchange right now even and on the very evening of the Comedy, these poor Israelites. They say- highly what we wrote a few days ago, that the King of the French should not be King of the Jews...

The Gazette therefore considers that its anti-Jewish slogans were well received. and internalized by the readers."

The Diabolical Representation of the Jews

From February 1790 onwards, the right-wing press began to develop a well-defined strategy for representing Jews. This strategy consists of treating Jews in two ways. On the one hand On the one hand, it spreads diabolical images of Jews who participate in a vast conspiracy against Catholic France, thus aiming to To trigger fear, hatred, and anger against them. On the other hand It aims to ridicule and humiliate Jews through satire and burlesque and grotesque comedy.

But the right wing is not interested in Jews per se. Through its attacks, this press aims to sabotage the process of creating a new revolutionary order by the Assembly, by discrediting the groups patriotic people associated with 'criminals' such as Jews, pro- testators and Freemasons.

The strategy of instilling fear and arousing anger is employed by the press from March 1790. It was during this period that The National Assembly is discussing the issue of church property. that she wanted to make available to the Nation. For the Gazette The newspaper reports that the Paris 11th arrondissement is a Judeo-Protestant conspiracy. March 29th 'that we have buyers very close by-the Protestants and the "The Jews are waiting for their prey to be delivered to them..." The Ecclesiastical Journa For its part, it presents an apocalyptic vision of the future of France

The decree has been issued; France no longer wants it. The abode of the saints is delivered into the hands of the enemies of Christian names. The Rabbis are aware of thi the enclosure; these temples which until now had only resounded with praises of the Christ, tomorrow curses will resound against Christ because they will to establish their synagogues in these holy places. 1°

8 Gazette de Paris, February 12, 1790.
® Gazette de Paris, March 29, 1790.
1° Ecclesiastical Journal, vol. IV, March 1790, pp. 282-283.

Anti-Jewish rhetoric

This image of a Judaized France would be propagated throughout
the year 1790. That year, the right-wing press continued to trans-
to put forward biased and heavily slanted information against the
Jews. No reference to the Commune campaign is found.
of Paris in favor of the Jews, nor to the various pamphlets of the pro-
Vinces who are demanding the emancipation of the Jews of the East!' On the other hand,
this press pays close attention to anti-Jewish pamphlets which
participate in the spread of rumors about the Judeo- conspiracy
Protestant-Freemason. This was the case with the right-wing newspaper Le
Bulletin which devotes a large part of its May 19th issue
1790 to an analysis of the pamphlet 'Reflections on the Jews of Alsace' by
MP Pflieger, who speaks of the perverse and antisocial morals of
Jews?

During the first half of 1790, this press attacked at tra-
towards the Jews, patriotic deputies such as the Bishop of Autun, the Abbot
Grégoire or Mirabeau, considered as agents in the service of
world Jewry. But from the summer of 1790, the right wing broadened the
cycle of his enemies and considers all the patriotic deputies to
the Assembly as a Judeo-Protestant-Freemason instrument, of which
The goal is to persecute and annihilate Catholic France.

The right-wing press uses adoption to support its argument
by the Assembly of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, at the end of December
1790. For La Gazette de Paris, there is no doubt that the Assembly
Nationale was sold to the Jews. In its January 20th issue
In 1791, De Rozoi noted that

…when solemn proclamations are made in favor of the Jews,
while everything related to either Christianity or the Monarchy
is the object of a general proscription, one wonders to oneself
What then are the titles of the children of Israel to our predilection?
What? Were they written for us on Mount Golgotha, like the
The ancient law was the same for them on Mount Sinai...”

This type of argument was developed the following day by Abbé Royou.
in his newspaper L'Ami du Roi, then reproduced in the weeks that
followed by the entire anti-revolutionary press."

On the campaign in favor of the Jews in 1790, see D. Feuerwerker, op. cit.
pp. 329-382. Frances Malino, A Rebellious Jew in the Revolution: The Life of Esalkind
Hourwitz (1751-1812), Berg, Paris, 2000, pp. 109-137.

2 The Bulletin, No. 40, May 19, 1790.

15 Gazette de Paris, January 20, 1791.

4. L'Ami du Roi (by Abbé Royou), January 21, 1791. See also, Journal Général

Following the adoption of the Civil Constitution, which was intended to support
placing the clergy under the authority of the Nation and the State, a true schism
Religious activism is developing in France. A part of the clergy, which opposes
to the Civil Constitution, refuses to take the civic oath to the Nation
and violently attacks the sworn, constitutional clergy.

For its part, the right-wing press began at the beginning of 1791 to
to equate the constitutional clergy with the Jews. As early as March, Le Journal de
The nobility announces, in a cynical tone, that the new bishops
Constitutionalists will be sworn in at synagogues, according to Le Journal.
The Court and City adds that they will also be circumcised."

The first months of 1791 saw the height of the anti- campaign
Jewish in the right-wing press. If during the year 1790, the journals-
right-wing lists are content to refer to Jews when their
The fate of the matter was discussed in the Assembly; in 1791 the Jewish theme appeared al
than every day in this press. This theme is detached now-
taking place within the event, it becomes a rhetorical device, used against
the enemies of the right. This press uses the Jewish theme to
to denigrate and insult the members of parliament from patriotic clubs and note those
Jacobins, Cordeliers, but also members of the right
moderate like Clermont-Tonnerre.

The National Assembly's decision to grant September 27
1791: The right of citizenship granted to all Jews in the kingdom, surprisingly
the right-wing press. The Gazette de Paris publishes a short account-
A summary of the debate, written in a very dry style and inserted on the last page
from the newspaper. The same style of report can be found in
The Friend of the Rai by Abbé Royou and in the General Journal of France.

From then on, and until the fall of the Monarchy in August 1792, the
The counter-revolutionary press will make very few references to
Jews. Feeling unable to influence the Assembly, she will leave the
care to attack Jews in the satirical press.

of France (de Fontenai and Royer-Brun), February 3, 1791, General Journal of the Court
and of the City, No. 43, February 12, 1791.

Journal of the Nobility, No. 11, March 1, 1791, Journal of the Court and the City, No.
34, April 3, 1791.

® Gazette de Paris, September 30, 1791, L'Ami du Roi by Abbé Royou, September 30
September 28, 1791, Journal Général de France, September 28, 1791

THE ANTI-JEWISH RHETORIC ID
The Satirical Representation of Jews

Political satire was one of the main means used by the
The right wing opposed the revolutionary regime. From the autumn of 1789 onwards, we see..
to emerge real right-wing satirical newspapers that will ridicule,
systematically, the principles, institutions, and leaders of revolution
lutionaries!?

This press disseminated anti-Jewish satire from February-March 1790 onwards.
and continues until the fall of the Monarchy. Already at the beginning of March
1790, The [journal en Vaudeville] devotes a large part of its
Issue number 3 is an anti-Jewish satire. The issue responds to a caricature-
a photograph, circulated at the end of February 1790, depicting the Bishop of Autun,
'eyeing lovingly the purse offered to him by a rabbi,' for
to mislead him into defending the cause of Portuguese Jews.' Following this
In the caricature, the newspaper editor publishes a long dialogue between
The bishop and a rabbi. The dialogue is composed of several scenes
showing how the Jews had mobilized the Bishop of Autun to
to defend the Portuguese Jewish cause. The Rabbi proposes to Talleyrand
money because, 'We understand, I think-because it's about finance-
for that is our science.' The Bishop, seduced by money, assures that
'I would take your rights into my own hands-if from now on, the Hebrews less
greedy-follow honor and the Laws. The final scene unfolds
after the victory of the Portuguese Jews on January 28th, and it was the Rabbi
who sings a song of joy.

Our brothers, now happy, will have here, as if at home, in this city,
homeland and state-Hallelujah-Our possessions will no longer be stolen-we will have the
Christian rights -without being any less Jewish for that -Hallelujah.

This text will launch a long satirical campaign aimed at
the Jews and their allies. At the head of this campaign is The
General Journal of the Court and the City. Its editor, Gautier de
Syonnet uses a wide variety of satirical forms to ridicule-
to read the enemies of the right. In its issue of January 15, 1791,
He compiles a humorous list of addresses of members of parliament. According to this list,
The Bishop of Autun lives at the '... formerly Rue des Juifs, evicted because

17 On the satirical press of the right during the Revolution, see WJ. Murray,
The Right Wing Press in the French Revolution, 1789 '1792, Royal Historical Society
Studies in History, London, 1986, pp. 213-230.

18 Journal en Vaudeville, No. 3, March 1790.

competition from new active citizens . . .”.° Nine days later
Late, on January 24, 1791, Gautier used anecdotal accounts to
to ridicule the Bishop of Autun, who, according to him, lost 50,000 crowns
in a gambling den in the capital, the one best stocked with crooks and girls,
but who, thanks to the Jews, was able to continue playing.”

Besides Talleyrand, it was Abbé Grégoire who was the target.
no longer targeted by satire of the right. The Journal de la Noblesse describes it
in these terms: '...it is this obscure counterpart, this priest who sometimes Catholic-
lique, sometimes circumcised, but always a fanatic like Judas, sells
cowardly sell his soul to whoever wants to pay for it?! The Journal of the Court and of
The City uses satirical anecdotes to announce that Gregory is
appointed to the bishopric of Tours and it is claimed that a Jewish colony
willing to establish itself there under his aegis... 7? Seven months later, on the 26th
In August, Gautier notes that this is noticeable in Bordeaux, Metz and Nancy
that 'from the moment the Israelites became convinced that the pont-
If Gregory was the Messiah, they no longer open their windows when
"It's stormy."

The year 1791 was the richest in satirical attacks against the
Members of Parliament, friends of the Jews. But as mentioned previously.
The right-wing press accused the Assembly at that time of being ven-
due to the Jews, particularly after the signing of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy
of the Clergy. In its issue of January 16, 1791, Le Journal Général
of the Court and the City publishes a satirical song about the Jews and
the Constitution:

By the fatal decrees, henceforth & Christians
One must Judaize to be a citizen

To lend money, we would have the moneylender of Judea.
The sophist, the shameless one, the Protestant, the atheist
Synagogues, high schools, and temples are all the same.
Preaching, sermon, Sabbath, new liturgy
It will soon overthrow the holy hierarchy.

This kind of discourse was broadcast daily during the
first months of 1791. As with the news press, we

General Journal of the Court and the City, No. 15, January 15, 1791.
2 Jbid., No. 24, January 24, 1791.

21 Journal de la Noblesse, No. 17, April 11-18, 1791.

The Court and City Journal, No. 21, January 21, 1791.

% Jbd., No. 57, August 25, 1791.

Jbid., No. 16, January 16, 1791.

notes a decline in production between May and September 1791, but
The satirical press is experiencing a revival after the decree of the 27th
September. This decree sparks a new wave of satirical writings.
anti-Semitism that would continue until the fall of the Monarchy on the 10th
August 1792. At the head of the satirical campaign is still Le
General Journal of the Court and the City and The Rocambole of Newspapers?
But this new wave of satire was a kind of anticlimax. Because
if before September 1791, the satirical genre was meant to serve to reinforce
the pressure against Jewish emancipation after September 27th,
This campaign loses its purpose and transforms into a simple
a way to channel the resentment of counter-revolutionary writers.

Conclusion

The hostile attitude of the reactionary right towards Jews is developing
Loppe gradually, particularly between August 1789 and January 1790.
From that date onwards, the news media tries in the form of
'impartial' news reports spread fear and anger, while
The satirical press attempts to belittle and humiliate Jews using the
comic.

The arguments themselves contain nothing new.
These are anti-Semitic speeches, some of which have a religious basis.
Another is based on anthropological, psycho- explanations
logical and philosophical ideas drawn from Enlightenment literature, notably
Voltaire's comment.

The novelty lies in the method of distributing these
arguments that are disseminated systematically and continuously
through a periodical press in a free and open public space.
It seems that until the Revolution, propaganda had never been seen
anti-Jewish sentiment disseminated on such a scale and with such persistence, and
reaching such a wide audience.

However, the right-wing press does not try to persuade its readers
to encourage them to adopt an anti-Jewish opinion. The discourse disseminated is based
based on the presupposition that the reader is already, previously, hostile to
Jews. As shown previously, the goal of the right wing is to

5 See for example: Le Rocambole des Fournaux, No. 28, September 29, 1791, No.
31, October 9, 1791, General Journal of the Court and the City, No. 5, March 5, 1792.

discredit the new revolutionary order and its leaders in the eyes
of readers who are still uncertain and hesitant. By designating the pro-
revolutionary process as stemming from a conspiracy aimed at Judah-
Serving France, the reactionary press encourages its readers to oppose
to the creation of a new revolutionary order.

The anti-revolutionary press therefore cannot be considered
as creator of a new type of anti-Jewish discourse, but as
the important vehicle of traditional arguments for the general public.
vehicle that helped make this theme an integral part of
counter-revolutionary ideology.

Abbé Grégoire and the Jews: Social Reform AND SPIRITUAL EXPECTATION

Rita Hermon-Belot

The celebration of the bicentenary of the French Revolution was coming to an end
culminating on December 12, 1989, with the transfer of the ashes of
Abbot Grégoire in the Pantheon alongside those of Condorcet and
Monge. Throughout 1989, the president's speech
Mitterrand had emphasized Grégoire's role as a figure of integration.
both Jews and Blacks, free and enslaved. The
However, the bicentenary was also expected to be an exceptional
occasion for debate and among the most heated were those which brought
on the evaluation of the emancipation of the Jews by the Revolution and
particularly regarding the role played by this abbot about whom so much was being talked a
Several voices were expressed there, and first of all the French version of the
re-evaluation of the work of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution
in the light of the Shoah, initiated in the United States in the wake of Hannah
Arendt, brilliantly illustrated by the work of Arthur Herzberg' and
taken up in France notably by Wladimir Rabinovitch and later
by Shmuel Trigano. The French revisions also participated
of the movement to rehabilitate particularist cultures and of the
concomitant critique of Jacobinism, particularly cultural Jacobinism, which would have
presided over the actions of the republican state in France. The worst opprobrium
never thrown on Gregory's work, however, it was under a

i On the genesis of this critique in the work of Hannah Arendt, see Hannah
Arendt, a Jew: Experience, Politics and History, by M. Leibovici, Desdée de Brouver,
Paris. 1988. By A. Herzberg. The French Enghtment and the Games. Columbia University
Press, New York, 1968. This critical position is also that of Ruth Necheles,
The Odyssey of an egalitarian: The abbey Grégoire, 1787-1831, Westport, 1971.

2 W. Rabinovitch, known as Rabi, Anatomy of French Judaism, Editions de Minuit, Paris,

1962. On this moment in historiography, see the seminal article by P. Grunebaum-Ballin, 'Gregory the Converter? Or the Belief in the Return of the Jews', in Revue des Etu Jewish Women, vol. 21, 1962, pp. 389-396. Shmuel Trigano, The Republic and the Jews, The Presses d'aujourd'hui, Paris, 1982.

3 The best-documented viewpoint is that of P. Birnbaum, 'On the state-
“Revolutionary mission, Abbé Grégoire and the destiny of Jewish identity”, Le Débat, No. 53, January-February 1989, pp. 156-173.

a signature of a completely different kind, a terrible signature because it is that Édouard Drumont, lost in this pose of perplexity: 'As for the idea of a man who says: 'here is the plague, I demand that it be inoculated to the whole country', she falls into these conceptions that it is 'Impossible to understand'.

And yet, while the memory of a Gregory who was too Catholic and too much of a priest for the republicans, but also far too republican Catholic, too revolutionary and also too Gallican for the Church of France, as it was being rebuilt in the 19th century, was going through a long century of disgrace, the only French who wanted to preserve it from the forgotten were contained in a tiny gathering of West Indians and Jews, and Freemasons. A competition that can be traced back to the origins of the first statue erected in Lunéville in 1885, and which, in front of the mon- the confederation of fascisms, wanted to rally even more closely around named after Gregory, by creating the 'Society of Friends of the Abbot' Grégoire' in 1931, the centenary year of his death, under the presidency by Ferdinand Brunot, honorary dean of the faculty of letters.

How can we explain such a contrasting appreciation of the same work and which way to tip the scales? In short, in which to an extent, whether in full responsibility or even in a rela- of innocence, did Abbé Grégoire participate in the drafting of this fertile ground for modern anti-Semitism that Hannah Arendt uncovered in the legacy of the Enlightenment?

The essential problem, in the form of a paradox, is certainly that posed by the Essay on the Physical, Moral and Political Regeneration of Jews, this work so long considered the first jiao of liberation.”

The journey of a Lorraine family, the Job family of Lunéville, is entirely emblematic of the work's fate, as it is one of its most prominent figures, Raphaël Job, had in his time been the initiator of the campaign that led to the erection of the statue of Gregory on one of the city's squares in 1885. Entering this family was for generations also entering into devotion to memory

* Jewish France, Paris, Marpon and Flammarion, 1886, p. 280, cited by P. Birnbaum, On revolutionary statization, op. cit., p. 162.

* Grégoire, Essay on the physical, moral and political regeneration of the Jews, Metz, 178
Two modern editions were published in 1988 by Stock, with a preface by R. Badinter, and published by Flammarion, Champs collection, with a preface and notes by R. Hermon-Belot.

of Abbot Gregory. But when, in the editorial wave of the bicen-
As a consequence of the Revolution, the text became truly available, one
representatives of the family, Ms. Françoise Job, herself an architect
visitor and historian of the Jewish community of Lunéville, was
horrified to find there some of the most common anti-Jewish tropes
hackneyed. His eloquent protest helped to create distance
criticism of the Lorraine community at the very moment when France
republicanism seemed to be coming together so happily around the rede-
covered and celebrating the memory of Gregory.

The fact is that reading the Essay cannot actually go to today-
today without essential precautions and clarifications. It is about
of a work written for the occasion, a dissertation prepared for the competition
opened in 1787 by the Academy of Metz with this question: 'Is it
"Ways to make Jews more useful and happier in France?"
Grégoire, then parish priest of a church in the Lorraine countryside, resumed there-
likely stems from some of the work already done for a
competition organized in 1779 by a Strasbourg society, mobili-
here, an interest and information that are already well established. The three
themes that inform all his thinking towards the Jews are already pre-
Sent in the Essa, and the one that first catches the eye is a painting
very dark of what he considers to be the situation of profound avi-
a situation in which the Jews of his time and his native land
are immersed. The question, of course, is of paramount importance there.
usury. The author harshly criticizes the Jews of Lorraine for their
their greed and their poor relations with the peasants of the
region. While this doesn't make it any more accurate, Papprécia-
tion was extremely widespread, since a highly cultured Jew
as Zalkind Hourwitz also subscribes to.'

Gregory's critical overview also encompasses Judaism
rabbinic and particularly the Talmud, which he does not want to recognize-
to be born as 'a few pearls in the dung heap' (according to a remembrance)
a classic term that he also uses for certain spiritual currents
Christians), and it is in this aspect that it most closely resembles the discourse

6 See the terms of the debate, and in particular the calm and measured final intervention-
The Grand Rabbi of Nancy, in the program filmed in September 1989, Grégozre
or memory reconnected, FR3 Nancy-Kien production.

7? Z. Hourwitz, Apology for the Jews, Paris, 1790, pp. 34–37, in The French Revolution France and the Jews, EDHIS, Paris, 1968, vol. II. Ed. M. Lôwy and E. Varikas, Syllepse, Paris, 2002.

the learned Enlightenment, very hostile to what they considered as
the Jewish version of obscurantism. The fact remains that, under his just pen-
In fact, the pattern always concludes with a reversal of the proposition.
tion: these flaws of the Jews that he deplores are in fact attributable to
Christians (but not in the Church). He repeats, 'in the final analysis their
The wrongs are those of the nations that have humiliated them. Which amounts to
to exclude the argument of inherent defect so widespread at the time as
to so many others. We must also give Grégoire this credit for having
He was a very sincere admirer of the Jewish Enlightenment. Enlightenment which
They bring to the Essay a positive counterpart to the Talmud.
The figure of Moses Mendelssohn is the guiding light of an entirely illustrated work.
undermined by the influence of the Haskalah.

Moreover, if the theme of Jewish guilt is developed in
The essay, even with a wealth of detail and variations, is the one that
was destined to be the least enduring in Gregory's work.
This diminishes considerably from the Motion in favor of the Jews, drafted in
Paris, where the author has just met with representatives of
communities in the Southwest." He, however, asserts there that
more and more vigorously than the 'current degradation of the Jews'
is 'an inevitable consequence of the oppression and persecution that has
always hit them'.

The second theme of the Essay is that of the reform project. At the
This differs from what Grégoire will recommend barely two months later.
Late for black slaves, equality of civil rights must be the pre-
first and immediate measure of regeneration, all other inter-
measures intended to change the Jewish man to adapt him to
criteria of the time came next. And most of the precautions
slowing access to civil equality in the Essay have disappeared from the
Motion.

The third theme is that of the relationship between Jews and Christians.
the one who instigated the most serious accusations against Gregory, ct
in particular the suspicion of a conversion project. If we stick to
First, regarding the actions, why, if that had been his intention, would he not have-

8 Gregory, Essay on the Regeneration of Eggs, op. cit, p. 192.

∗ Motion in favor of the Jews, by Mr. Grégoire, parish priest of Emberménil, deputy of Nar
preceded by a historical note on the persecutions they have just suffered in
various locations, particularly in Alsace, and on the admission of their deputies to the b

of the National Assembly. Paris, Belin, 1789. It is included by the Archives
Members of Parliament, in the minutes of the session of December 23, 1789.

Has he, one day or another, been tempted to move into directing? Why?
On the contrary, does he show such reserve towards society?
Created in 1808 in Great Britain to convert Jews? Certainly,
It's a Protestant initiative, but at least he could have tried
to inspire Catholic followers. In fact, Gregory insists on this
in the Essay, as in the Motion: 'these words of the Gospel: Compel-
the signs to enter only indicate the urgent exhortations of the cha-
"Rity." This, of course, constitutes an injunction for us to return
later on his intentions, at least insofar as they
are accessible to us.

Grégoire, in fact, did not only think about and imagine integration
Jews in French society. The great interest of his case lies
in the fact that he was also a man of action and statesman, this on a
a long period in terms of chronology, from 1789 to
1806. His work constitutes a valuable field of observation for
the confrontation of Enlightenment themes with reality and undoubtedly
Moreover, are his own ideas only truly understandable when engaged in?
guided by action.

This priest from Lorraine was among those who, as early as the winter of 1789, had the int
tion of the initiation of an irresistible and totally
unpublished, in which he saw for his part an unexpected 'opportunity', in
wanting to immediately share the benefits with his Jewish friends. He wrote on February 2r
to Isaiah Berr Bing of Metz to alert him: 'more than ever, here is the
"moment to present the demands of the Lorraine communities."

He was the one who introduced the question of the fate of the Jews to the Constituent Asse
on the evening of August 3, 1789, by calling for the protection of the Assembly
on the Alsatian communities for whom the Great Fear
took the form of violent persecution. From that moment on, he
literally carried this cause, and it required consistency and a
unwavering energy, given how long and fraught with obstacles the road had proven to be.
ches. Because there is a real issue at stake here and consequently a real-
a difficult fight. Firstly, because for legislators so
heavily solicited and very ignorant of a subject they know nothing about-
mostly perceived through a few malicious stereotypes,

10 And also, 'The Lord condemned some disciples, whose indiscreet zeal wanted
'to draw down fire from heaven upon a city that had not received it', Motion in favor of t
Oh, Dal.

Letter to Bing, February 1789, quoted by J. Tild, Abbé Grégoire according to his memoirs
collected by Hyppolite Carnot, Paris, 1946.

The problem seems secondary. But also because the terms
are terribly overshadowed by the intense activity of a veritable
anti-Jewish lobby, a group of perpetual Alsatian and Lorraine MPs-
occupied with stirring up the threat of a conflagration in the provinces
of the East in the event that the terrible political error were to be committed
the tic of granting citizenship to Jews.

In August 1789, Grégoire obtained, on the 26th, a first decree-
nance by which the king places the Jews of Alsace under the protection
laws. As early as August 14, 1889, a delegation of Portuguese Jews from
Bordeaux brought him a letter of thanks." On September 1st
bre, during a session chaired by Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre,
Grégoire extracts from the Assembly a commitment to dedicate a session
particularly to deal with 'the state of the Jews in France'. But, in the meantime.
The violence has resumed. On September 28, Clermont-Tonnerre and
Grégoire obtains, this time for all the Jews of France, the pro-
joint protection of the Assembly and the king. It is decided that the pre-
The president will write to the various municipalities of Lorraine, 'for their
to demonstrate that the Declaration of Human Rights is common
to all the inhabitants of the earth', and that the king will be asked to support it
with all his authority. On October 14, 89, Gregory introduced at the
a delegation from the Assembly bar that comes to present a fine dis-
course in which one can very clearly feel the influence of his own
rhetoric. He wrests from the Assembly its commitment to legitimize the
during the session and had his Moñon printed and distributed in favor
Jews, presenting a selection of grievances expressed by those
whom he calls his 'clients', the Jews of Alsace, Lorraine and the pro-
Vince of the Three Bishoprics. His motion proposes to 'dispose the public
in favor of the Jews, and he himself pledges to redouble his efforts in
"at the moment of the discussion." On January 28, to take the session
holding the recognition of the citizenship of Portuguese Jews of
In Bordeaux, he accepts the postponement with regard to the others.
but by demanding a fixed date and by extending the benefit of the
law to 'all Portuguese, Spanish and Avignon Jews'.

Grégoire's influence over this case has been perfectly identified.

Not without also inviting him to be more discreet, because of the demands of
The Jews of Portugal are not at all the same as those of Eastern European Jews. Letter
addressed to Mr. Grégoire by the deputies of the Jewish nation of Bordeaux, on August 14,
French Revolution and the Jews, EDHIS, op. at, vol. HIV.

5 Gregory, Motion in favor of the Jews, op. «t., p. 2.

by his enemies. While the question is once again being raised by the
MP Louis-Simon Martineau, on January 18, 1991, complained 'about this
that we waited for the presidency of Father Grégoire to abuse-
'to serve the system of tolerance he professes'. While we are astonished
also to see a member of the ecclesiastical committee, 'to which this
'This matter is entirely foreign', taking the liberty of transgressing
the sacrosanct agenda.* The remark is perfectly valid
and one can easily point to another solidarity between Grégoire
and Martineau, the one that links them both to a small group of deputies
devout Catholics of Jansenist inspiration. Also, if the adopted
The decree was finally enacted on September 27, 1791, on the eve
of the separation of the Assembly, and without intervention, at least apparently
Gregory's rent is that he has resigned himself to avoiding a new rally-
an assembly of all the enemies of the Jews who targeted him
of their hatred. The Assembly essentially decided on the
principles, but the insistence of Gregory and his allies eventually
to establish the issue as a genuine political question. Their
arguments provided the Assembly with information it had
much needed and have managed to convince many MPs, if we consider
judged in particular by the way in which the mention of Jews has become
perfectly normal whenever freedom of religion is discussed.
How can we explain such a commitment at that time and at that
At what stage of Grégoire's career? First and foremost, by
the personal experience, from Lorraine and Alsace, of a village child.
It could only have started badly. Her first encounter with the
Judaism was that of the usurer, despised by the peasants, whose identity we find
traces still remain in the Æssa, particularly the serious mortgage not
still completely lifted in his mind from the 'false quit-' affair
accusations about the debts held by the Jews of Alsace. Even though
The forger, Hell, has confessed to his crime; Grégoire cannot arrive.
not to convince oneself that the Jews did not bear some of the blame."
But what is truly unique about him is the capacity of his soul

Le Moniteur, vol. 7, p. 167.

5 Hell had flooded Alsace, and particularly the Sundgau region, with false-
his receipts claiming to free the peasants from their debts to Jewish lenders.
Even when forced to admit the falsification, he continued to maintain that he had acted ir
the good interests of his compatriots. He also published anonymously in 1779,
Observations of an Alsatian on the Fuifs of Alsace, which gave the signal for a campaign
of slanderous brochures.

sensitive to sharing his compassion for his fellow peasant compatriots with
the one that a first scene had probably begun to awaken in him
which he witnessed, the ordeal of a poor Jewish peddler preyed upon

to the hatred of an entire village. And once his curiosity was piqued by the
the irreconcilable nature of the two sides of the problem, freedom of spirit
Grégoire's unique situation allows him to benefit from his involvement in circles which
are resolutely situated on the margins of a traditional comparative society
timely, particularly the learned academies and Masonic lodges-
ques of Strasbourg and Nancy, to forge fruitful relationships
and even genuine bonds of friendship with the most enlightened members
res of the Jewish communities. In this, he was also following a current of
humanitarian sensibility from the East, of which Dohm's work is
the main testimony, which is also particularly well represented by the current account
felt within the so-called 'enlightened' clergy itself, which explains why the
the most uncompromising defenders of the Jews in the revolutionary assemblies
The revolutionaries were very often Catholic priests.

In February 1790, Abbot Lamourette, former teacher of Grégoire
at the Metz seminary, he came to present his
Observations on the condition of the Jews before going to several reprisings
his representatives to the Assembly of Districts of the city of Paris. One of the
One of the greatest historians of emancipation, David Feuerweker, has put
highlighting the decisive role of this institution in the determining stage
nante of the process which runs from January 28 to February 25, 1790, with
particularly the speeches of Abbots Mulot and Bertolio." Such an atti-
However, this did not flow naturally from what then constituted the vul-
gate of Christian teaching, as evidenced by the acerbic
criticisms addressed to Grégoire's Mohon by his colleague, com-
patriot and long-time comrade in the struggles of the priests of
Lorraine, Father Thiébault.'#

1 Ch. Dohm, For the civic improvement of the Jews, 1781, translated and used by Mirabeau,
On Moses Mendelssohn, on the political reform of the Jews, London 1787, see Edhis edition.
op. cit., Paris, 1968, vol. 1.

7 Ibid, p. 344. And 'Opinion of Abbot Bertolio on the Jews proposed in
the general assembly of representatives of the commune', on January 30, 1790. The dis-
Mulot's lecture is partly reproduced by D. Feuerwerker, The Emancipation of the Jews
In France, Panis, Albin Michel, 1976, pp. 346-7. And cf. the file inserted by the
Parliamentary Archives in the first appendix to the session of December 23, 1789,
while the decree was narrowly rejected again by 408 votes to 403
an amendment by Duport, Parliamentary Archives, Complete Collection of Legislative Debates
Politics of the French Chambers. First series 1787-1799, ed. by J. Mavidal and
E. Laurent, Paris, P. Dupont, vol. XXI, p. 758 to 763.

8 Parliamentary Archives, op. «t., vol. XXI, pp. 713 and 714.

However generous and sincere they may be
Of these priests, Gregory is the only one who continues to be interested
with the same fidelity to the fate of the Jews even once the question

apparently settled by the vote on the law granting them the right to
cited. In August 1993, he was still concerned with obtaining a grant for two citizens
Jews were entitled to compensation for the elimination of their positions at the Faculty c
Eastern collections of the National Library. The project, presented on behalf of
The joint Committees of Public Instruction and Finance are on the
field honored by a decree.!° His career as a reformer of the statute
the Jews is not yet complete, since Napoleon had to remember-
to draw on his expertise to appoint him, alongside the lawyer
Thiéry, another competitor in the Metz competition, and Isaac Cerf-
Berr, former representative of the Jews of Alsace, to the committee of experts he convened
in 1806.

Against the enemies and aggressors of the Jews, Gregory did not, in fact,
never surrendered. To a nasty charge by Bonald in the
“Mercure of France” he responds with his new observations made on the
Jews, and especially those of Amsterdam and Frankfurt, from 1807.
of his 1803 trip to Belgium and Holland, he did not miss-
he wanted to visit the Jewish communities, who welcomed him in
benefactor. The Memoirs recount the reception he received.
at the Felix Libertate synagogue in Amsterdam, how, with an emotion-
With a touch of embarrassment, he heard his name mentioned in what he
calls it a 'Hebrew hymn'.

Such an intense and closely monitored investment raises all the more questions.
imperatively the question of the true intentions of this Catholic priest
lique, of this constitutional bishop who, at the moment when he succeeded
finally to organize the council intended to preside over the organization of a
The French Catholic Church, as he had always dreamed of it, opens the
sessions, on June 29, 1801, asking the true Christians for 'a mou-
simultaneous movement', to turn 'their gaze towards this wandering people'
across the globe, since the destruction of its political state.

At that time, in the aftermath of the Revolution, the determining role
The idea that Gregory attributes to the Jewish people recurs in practically all

1 Parliamentary Archives, op. cit, vol. CXX, August 3, 1993, p. 173.

2 February 8, 1806.

2 Memoirs of Gregory, followed by a historical notice on Gregory by Mr. Hyppolite
Carnot', Paris, Éditions de la Santé, 1989, introduction by J.-M. Leniaud, p. 54.

his texts. But it is within a milieu and especially within a framework of
a very specific spiritual thought, that of 'figurism', a movement stemming from
in the 18th century of Jansenism.”

Figurism is both a way of reading Scripture with concern

to make the two wills coincide, the first constituting only
the announcement and the figure (hence the very term figurism) of the second,
but also by identifying these figures and awaiting their fulfillment-
the prophecies in a third stage, that of the Church, therefore
of history. In this unfolding of the divine plan, the figure painters take up-
nent the exegesis of the Pauline theme of the mystical olive tree (Romans XI,
17-24), to give a decisive place to what they call
the 'return of the Jews', a detached branch from the common trunk, an indis-
conceivable at the realization of the parousia.

And Gregory, in this post-revolutionary period, is himself in
close sympathy with French and even Italian circles which
they consider themselves the heirs of Port-Royal. It is indeed by
invariably referring to the theme familiar to the figurative exegesis of a
'consolation' of the Church by those from whom it would least be expected
never tires of evoking the singular destiny of this 'outcast' people
everywhere' and which 'exists everywhere and carries in hand the titles which, in
condemning his unbelief, they announce his entry into the Church for
to console her for the loss of her children?

In religion as in politics, however, Gregory remains always-
A lone wolf to whom no affiliation can be assigned
truly partisan or sectarian nance, and, within the movement itself
As a figure painter, he must be credited with a truly rare insistence on
everything concerning Jews. Because his figurative art is also subject to
to a very specific requisition. It essentially revolves around
the preoccupation that accompanied him throughout his career and
even of his personal life, as he admits in the Memoirs: the
The destiny of the Jewish people. The second chapter, and the most personal.
since it is devoted to 'his childhood, his adolescence and his first tra-

∗ On figurism, see C. Maire, From the Cause of God to the Cause of the Nation, the Jan-
seismicism in the 17th century, Gallimard, Paris, 1998.

He notably published a very short first version in 1801 and in
a definitive version in 1809, The Ruins of Port-Royal des Champs in 1809, a secular year
area of the destruction of this monastery, RMN reissue, Paris, 1995.

∗ A plea from the Catholic faithful of France to the next national council in favor of
the primitive use of the vernacular in the administration of the sacraments and the celebr
Divine Office, Brajeux, Paris, 1801, p. 127.

'literary vas', concludes with this passage where, in delivering the key to its
His lifelong interest in Jews, he speaks about himself like never before:
I will always have a special fondness for this people, the custodians of
the most ancient archives, the most sublime truths, the most consummate-
"Lantes'."

Sacred history has prophecy as its horizon, the prophecy that foretold
the 'new alliance of which the first was only the figurehead', but
also the one that promises an end to history guided by the hand of
God, by giving as his final act the conversion of the Jews, the
returning to a homeland that Grégoire can only imagine as his own. To this extent
From a point of view, perfectly classic in a Christian tradition that does not
considers the Jews only in terms of what they can contribute to Christianity
nism, he adds a completely unique accent with this idea that
The divine promise concerns Jews as much as Christians.
Such an emphasis has the remarkable effect of diverting its author from
any human participation in the 'reprobation' of the Jews, as abso-
a matter contrary to the spirit of the Church, to orient it in the opposite direction
towards the most active cooperation in their rehabilitation.

Grégoire's project manages to incorporate the idea of progress
human within a spiritual framework delimited by prophecy in fact-
powerfully feeling both the action of God and the action of
Men in history. Such a perspective forms the basis
of his entire approach, of his lifelong effort and of his appre-
understanding the French Revolution itself as an implementation
in the secular sphere of the promises of the Gospel, that is to say this
which determines his entry into politics. That is also the whole purpose of the
undoubtedly the most decisive passage of the Essays, and the one that Gregory has
invariably repeated in all his works on the subject, up to
The History of Sects from 1828*% through the Mohon of 1789. That
where he explains that his God 'directs events in a way
in accordance with his supreme views"; and above all, that 'perhaps 1l we
reserves the glory of realizing his designs, by preparing through our good-
'This is the revolution that must regenerate this people.' For in prayer,
Grégoire resolutely joined social action.

% Memoirs of Grégoire, op. cit, p. 55.

2% History of religious sects which, from the beginning of the last century until the pres
that currently exist, were born, changed, and died out in the four parts of the world, by
Mr. Gregory, former Bishop of Blois, New edition considerably enlarged-
tée, Baudouin frères, Paris, 1828, 6 vols. See particularly vols. II and V.

It is precisely in this dual requisition and because of the fate of
Jews are so central to his vision that he has also been extraordinarily
struck by the meeting of the Sanhedrin in Paris in 1807. 'In this
assembly of Jewish deputies summoned to Paris by the government,
Vulgar eyes find only human combinations,
political insights', he explains, 'but men enlightened by the
Revelations link this event to hopes of a certain order
supernatural".??

Such an interpretation of Gregory's true perspective in
his overly proactive approach to the question of the status of Jews raises
Yet another problem, that of the moment from which it was
driven by this type of spiritual inspiration and what depends on it
in his work, because his links with figurative art are not really
manifestos that at the end of the Revolution. Gregory's references
at Port-Royal, however, never resemble a declaration of app-
partenance since, as the Jansenists have always done, 1l mie
invariably the very existence of Jansenism, not wanting to speak
than a 'Port-Royal School', whose 'friends' are simply
Christians attached to the true tradition of Christianity, to the veri-
The spirit of the Gospel is at the heart of these references. However, there are many such
from his earliest writings, and the Essay contains passages indeed
rapid, but which have been continually adopted and gradually developed
in later writings and which fit clearly into the reading
a figure depicting the intertwined destinies of the Church and the Jews.

He also claims to have already developed these themes in a service
my pronouncement as early as 1785, in the church of Saint-Facques in Lunéville, to
the truly extraordinary occasion of the inauguration of a new
synagogue." He referred to it in a letter dated September 1st
1788, addressed to Pastor Ehrmann of Strasbourg:

Sir and dear friend... in your last letter you mention...
the hope that the Catholic Church retains of one day seeing the nation
Jewish woman entering her bosom. I preached on this subject in the church of
Lunéville, a year or two ago, I hope to write an approximate dissertation.
based on this material.

"id. mob [IL pb

* For a more detailed analysis, see our article "Abbé Grégoire, Politics and Truth".
Ed. du Seuil, Paris, 2000, chapter XIV, 'Grégoire et Port-Royal'.

* Gregory, History of Religious Sects, op. cit, vol. II, p. 390.

The letter, kept in the archives of the State of Hesse in Darmstadt, is intact.

In his History of Sects, Gregory promised to publish the text,
But unfortunately, 1L never did.

What is certain, in any case, is that as soon as he began to
He took an interest in the fate of the Jews, and he did so by placing the question in
an essentially spiritual and even eschatological perspective
gic, by managing to bring out a remarkable coherence in all

the authors whom he consulted one after the other on this point.

In Lorraine, he had begun with the History of the Old and the New
Testament to serve as an introduction to the ecclesiastical history of Abbot Fleury
by Dom Calmet, and the Customs of the Israelites by the one he calls only
the 'wise Fleury'. He also very likely consulted the cer-
keys of Hebrew scholars set up at the abbey of Senones by
Calmet in the Vosges and finally his mentor in Metz, Abbot Adrien
Lamourette. And for all of them, it's mainly the same idea that
Gregory invariably borrows that of mystery, in the fullest sense
of the term, which constitutes the precedence of the Jews in the revelation.
Lamourette had even tried to convince a constituent assembly
a rather mediocre killer interested in what

the traditions of the Jewish people and the Christian people do not go together
that one and the same sequence of events and the scriptures of both Testaments
they all form a single body and a single book.'

The intensity of such spiritual resonance in the relationship he has
linked with the Jews and Judaism provides the definitive answer to
the prosecution wanted to make him a converter. A detainee,
As he has always said, he sees no other way out of the truth.
I am happy that there is universal adherence to this one and only truth.
But the fulfillment of the divine plan requires precisely that there be all-
days of the Jews on earth, that the Jewish religion as such be
preserved, but in a very different conception from that of the
people witness fixed by Bossuet and desired by all tradition
pontifical.

The 'return of the Jews', on the other hand, is part of a perspective
truly universal and divine, while in the chapter on projects
In concrete terms, it's not really a question of a specific, detailed undertaking.

reproduced by A. Sutter, Les années de jeunesse de Grégoire, Pierron, Sarreguemines,

1992 p.64. |
31 A, Lamourette, Speech concerning the decree of the National Assembly on the property of

clergy, Paris, 1790, pp. 18-19.

an attempt, effectively accessible to human initiative, to conver-
The union of the Jews of the kingdom or of the French nation. The very title
The Essay limits its ambitions to 'physical, moral and regeneration'

'Jewish policy'. While always resuming, and well after the
emancipation law of September 1791, this same passage and therefore in
continuing to promise for the future 'the revolution that must regenerate-
ienccapenple.

Gregory clearly attests that regeneration still had in its
spirit takes on a completely different dimension, and that the entire reform apparatus
of the Essay constituted only a limited propaedeutic.

In the vibrant zeal that animates Gregory and drives him to attempt
to improve the lot of the Jews in their own interest, it is therefore necessary
no doubt also recognizing the expression of an aspiration of another
order, the desire to contribute one's small, modestly human stone
to the building, to facilitate somewhat the process that leads to the
redemption by at least putting an end to what he calls the
'prejudices' of Jews against Christians who have always been so
bad brothers for cux. Project that further disqualifies radical-
any form of anti-Semitism as a misinterpretation and
eminently perverse in the divine will.

Another suspicion still hangs over Gregory's work. In his
This time, the quality of a representative of the French Revolution, 1 liter also
was considered an assimilator. The Motion in effect carries men-
tion of the suppression of communities on the economic level and
judicial, which corresponds to a positive conception several
once exposed during the Constituent Assembly, notably by the count
de Clermont-Tonnerre: 'they must not act in the State nor a
a political body, nor an order; they must be individually
citizens'. Insofar as it was a matter of obtaining the admission of
Jews with civil rights, it is difficult to see how the coexistence of two
“Types of jurisdiction would have been possible.” Unlike the States-
United, in the French case, is in the process of transformation
of society and precisely because of the orders and communities

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∗ The Jews of Paris had embraced this idea as early as August 1789, the 'Portuguese'
those in the Southwest are taking the initiative themselves to dissolve their community
Nauté, on February 18, 1790, immediately after obtaining citizenship in January, then
that the Jews of the East, who were very opposed to it at the beginning of the Revolution,
He was on the subject. Cf. R. Hermon-Belot, L'émancipation des Juifs en France, Que-
sais-7e? Paris, PUF, Paris, 1999, pp. 47, 53 and 57.

have been abolished so that Jews can find their place as
citizens. The historian Jacob Katz also reached the same conclusion:

As long as society was based on a system of classes and groups
The Jews, privileged though they were, formed a unique group, despite their unique situati
category that fit perfectly into this structure. With the dispa-
The division of privileged groups, the situation of the Jews appeared frankly
"Chement as an anomaly."

It is nevertheless important to remember that the legal framework for emancipation
It was built in two stages. On September 27, all citizens' rights
assets were granted from a strictly positive perspective, in
reference to principles only and without any restriction or condition whatsoever.
But on the 28th, the Prince of Broglie, himself the Grand Herald of the camp
reactionary and very poorly attached to institutional principles
measures implemented by the Revolution, the Assembly asks
to return to his work to specify the renunciation of the Jews to their
'civil laws'. The maneuver was Machiavellian. The spokesperson for
Jews of Alsace, Isaac Berr, speaks of the 'trap that they dared to set'
The National Assembly. However, it was fortunately expected
thwarted. Recalling that the 'civil laws of the Jews are identified with
their religious laws', the deputy Prugnon had this term replaced by
that of 'privileges'. The final wording therefore requires a civic oath-
that, 'which will be regarded as a renunciation of all privilege and
exemption previously introduced in their favor'. Thus
The emancipation of the Jews was part of the new institutional framework.
calf born of the Revolution.

Finally, let us recall that the way in which we consider even the terms of
the question has changed again since the bicentenary in 1989, as
that historians have worked on the notion of 'assimilation', nuance-
considerably reducing the dimension of dissolution that we had
often lent out."

But Gregory is very far from reducing, as Clermont- does
Thunder, religion to a purely individual and pri-
He is well aware of the communal aspect of worship and, on

#3 J. Katz, Out of the Ghetto, French translation, Paris, Hachette, 1984, p. 182.

Berr Isaac, Letter from a citizen member of the former community of the Guyfs of Lorrair
to his colleagues, on the occasion of the right of citizenship granted to Jews by the decr
November 1791, p. 10, in EDHIS, . ai., vol. VII. |

% For a bibliography on this point, see R. Hermon-Belot, L'émancipañon des
Jews of France, op. cit., pp. 117-120.

On the religious front, he doesn't want to touch the 'internal regime' in any way.

synagogues'. Moreover, although he is often very critical of this
which he considers to be the obscurantism of the rabbis, he is not
less determined to share them with Catholic priests
an immense responsibility in the field, which he considered crucial, of
education, and particularly with regard to moral education
of their followers.

On a cultural level, Grégoire professes the most vehement hostility towards
Judeo-German, a linguistic barrier between Jews and Christians at the time of the opa-
city to which PEssa on Regeneration attributed a large part
conflicts that arose surrounding loans of money. This mistrust
This desire to eradicate local languages is part of
a very broad design, expressed in particular by his famous report
presented on June 4, 1794 to the Convention," a design which one can just-
to think that he owes a lot to his first impressions
Her native Lorraine, but which must also be placed in the context of the
linguistic culture of the time and the omnipotence attributed to language
not only for thought but also for morals, in particular
political mores. Within the context of revolutionary France, the
transition to the rule of law alone and the exercise of citizenship exi-
it is all the more imperative that everyone be able to become aware
reading of the texts. Let us recall that Grégoire personally clashed
to the problem as a representative of the Convention in the
new departments of Alpes-Maritimes and Mont-Blanc.

The question remains as to the methods to be used in this area and to
the effectiveness of the measures adopted. In fact, despite its title and its rhe-
Despite its aggressive approach, the report did not lead to any coercive measures.
citive.® In this time of mobilization of the nation in danger, the
The champion against dialects appealed above all to the zeal of the citizens. The her-
the leadership of Gregory and his colleagues from the Convention has a certain-

% Gregory, Essay on the Regeneration of the Jews, op. cit., pp. 159 and 166, and Motion or
the Jews, op. cit., p. 39.

∗ National Convention. Public Education. Report on the necessity and the means
to eradicate dialects and universalize the use of the French language, by Gregory. Sessior
16 Prairial, year 11, [National Printing Office.

% See in particular the Address to the French, printed by order of the Convention
National and sent to the constituted authorities, to the popular societies, and to all
the municipalities of the Republic, which accompanied the report. On this issue
and the idea of a 'linguistic terror', Abbé Grégoire, politics and truth, op. cit.
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contributed to shaping the political and educational culture of the
Third Republic, but it would be wrong to attribute to them a

real eradication action, particularly with regard to the
disaffection, which remains to be measured, from the languages of Eastern European Jews to
continuation of emancipation.

At the moment when Grégoire took the floor to defend the cause
For the Jews, the main adversary is not the other religion of the book,
It is the scourge of this incredulity that has continued to grow throughout
throughout the century. His project for a city regenerated by the Revolution is
that of a specifically Christian city. If the Revolution constituted-
it was an implementation of the teachings of the Gospel, it constituted
also presented a new opportunity for a hardened Catholic Church
undermined throughout the 18th century, the chance of a return to
the purity of the early days. That is precisely why Gregory, like
him, a number of priests who have designated themselves as 'pre-
very patriotic people joined the 1789 movement by attempting
always linking Revolution and religion. But, insofar as a
religion, in this case and quite obviously the Catholic religion,
enjoys a quasi- or implicitly national status, what can be
So what about the other religions? If Gregory's position regarding
The presence of Jews poses a problem; it's more on that point. This problem
Moreover, it does not only concern Jews, but, with sensitive
nuances, all those, even Christians, who are not Catholic.

The discussion of Article X of the Declaration of the Rights of Man
had addressed the issue of religious freedom in a rather hou-
use. And if the principle has finally been stated, it is
rather by the outbursts of indignation from Talleyrand and Mirabeau. Finale-
The Constituent Assembly practically adopted the formula suggested by
Gregory in the Essay, asking that the powers 'respect'
the religious principles of citizens, 'unless they are of a nature
to disturb the State'. By adhering to this double negation, 'no one
will be worried about his religious opinions, unless their manifestation
'festation does not disturb public order', the legislators thought they had
chose the path of prudence.∗” Moreover, the Assembly continues to
resist all pressures that seek to force him to speak out
cer clearly in one direction or another, declaration of the
freedom of public worship for all religions, or

#9 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, art X.

devolution of the status of state religion to the Catholic religion from
the first article of the Constitution. Gregory, for his part, seems
having stayed out of these discussions, contenting himself with a position that
It seems implicit to him by virtue of its integration into the Constitution.
of a Civil Constitution of the Clergy of France under which
Catholic priests become state employees. And Pex-
majority pressure among his fellow MPs encourages him to do so

Indeed, insofar as, even by refusing to do
Catholicism, the state religion, they insist on affirming 'that the attack-
The National Assembly's conversion to Catholic and Apostolic worship
and Roman cannot be doubted at the very moment when this
worship alone will be given first place by her in expenses
public'. In the new, fundamentally Catholic public order conceived
by Gregory and his fellow patriotic clergy, the thorny question
is that of the advertising of the cult.

Grégoire has indeed always maintained that 'civil tolerance
let everyone profess it without approving it, but also without hindering them
his cult", and even that 'this faculty is a natural right. But
when he also states that 'it is in the court of politics that one must
to judge whether the tranquility of the State allows a sect to be granted
'Advertising of worship or just tolerance', he added.
on the restrictive nature of the wording of Article X, while
assuming that the question cannot arise in what
concerns the Catholic faith." The problem would then be to ensure
that the prohibition of all advertising may not constitute a nuisance
for the practice of a cult, a problem which has applications
the most concrete actions at a time when patriotic Catholicism
Focused entirely on his hopes of reconquest, he is striving precisely to gain access to th
greater publicity.

On the other hand, when, in his capacity as custodian of the Cahiers des
Jewish communities, Gregory presents, among the demands
the actions that seem most legitimate to him, those of the Jews of Lorraine
consisting of having 'synagogues, but without any markings or
'exterior decoration that announces a temple', this is by referring to
an experience very familiar to him. Because that's exactly what
had been done in Lunéville, where the very beautiful facade of the synagogue

Grégoire, Motion in favor of the Jews, op. cit., p. 13. As well as the following quotation

opened in 1785 with the exceptional authorization of King Louis XVI
was completely hidden from the street by a row of houses.

Even though followers of other faiths enjoy all the rights
In this city, religious differences inevitably lead to an attack
to equality and freedom. This is indeed a concept, not a definition of the
freedom, but only tolerance, with all that the term
presupposes a restriction, as Tallevrand and Mirabeau had
brilliantly pointed out. Moreover, Grégoire takes good care of
To clarify: 'Do not confuse this word with that of public worship'.
His tolerance, shared with other patriotic priests, is a tolerance-
civil france, but on the level of faith, the sectarians of other religions
These people are nonetheless 'wanderers'. And if there is one conviction to

which Gregory warns that he will never give up, is indeed the one
that 'the Catholic religion shows this middle ground which saves rights
of the Creator without harming those of the creature, and who opens his bosom
to wandering brothers, without ever opening him to error.' His action has
always for essential indication and determination the teaching
of religion. It was in its name that he had entered the race in favor of
Jews in August 1789, 'as a minister of a religion which
'See all men as brothers'. But this action also
its limits, those prescribed by that same religion.

Yet it is precisely on this point that Grégoire's career is criticized
the most spectacular development, which he undoubtedly carried out, is the revision
the most heartbreaking because of the circumstances, but also the most pro-
founded. On December 21, 1794, he delivered a speech to the Convention-
A course expressly entitled "Duscours on the Freedom of Worship." This
intervention, where at least some of its passages were interrupted
booed by the jeers of the Assembly, but the effective establishment of the
However, freedom of worship owes it a great deal. This Convention is
Indeed, that of Thermidor which, after the fall of Robespierre, attempts
the return to civil peace. At the end of the revolt against all the
religious institutions, and primarily against the Catholic Church,
known as Dechristianization, which set the country ablaze
since the winter of 1793-94, the Cambon decree of September 1794 had
suspended all state payments for religious expenses, instituting
thus a first de facto separation between Church and State. The Convention
tion had remained there, without taking any further action regarding
religion, with all religious practices remaining frozen. That's precisely what
Grégoire criticizes him, demanding a legal framework for freedom
of religious services, while, for their part, his colleagues in the Assembly...

They accuse him of bringing back to the forefront the issue that had divided them
the French Revolution and that they had truly believed they had definitively ruled out
removed from the political scene. Grégoire's speech was reflectively successful.
to encourage the reopening of the debate in the country and the MPs must-
wind resigned to ruling. On February 21, 1795, they adopted the decree
Insulting freedom of worship. The rapporteur of the decree, Boissy d'Anglas.
had launched a scathing critique of the entire undertaking of the Constituent Assembly
which had resulted in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. But 1 It relied on
also on the substantial concessions boldly announced by
Gregory, on behalf of the Catholics of France, particularly during-
that, taking note of the Cambon decree, the latter affirmed that 'the
The government must not adopt, much less pay the salaries of, any religion.
although he recognizes in each individual the right to have their own.
This is obviously primarily to allow the resumption of religious services.
It was Catholic that Gregory demanded freedom of worship. But he acted
now of a plural and identical freedom for all religions.
The idea of true religious freedom, and therefore equality, has been challenged.
definitively sealed for him through the crisis he had to live through

in his spiritual flesh, in his own religion attacked and put
outlawed. This time he speaks from experience, 'the freedom of private worship'
'is not enough'. But his position is now quite clear,
and he will not back down from that.

For perspectives as long-term as those which
have been adopted by this work, the most important of which lies
perhaps in the reading and reception of the work. Which requires
to take into account not only all the instrumentalizations that have
could have been done, but also with the way the text can be found
biased worm in contexts significantly different from that of the
writing, with the author bearing varying degrees of responsibility
in the suitability of his work to be used in this way and all similar-
complement with the potentialities that the work may contain.

The reading of time had considered FÆssat on the regeneration of the phrsi-
that, morality and politics of the Jews as a work very favorable to
Jews. As soon as the author arrives in Paris, the Keeper of the Seals hands him
the grievance notebooks drawn up by the representatives of the communities
Eastern territories, with the mission to make use of it in the National Assembly."

At the Consulate, Clermont-Tonnerre did not fail to wish

Grégoire, Motion in favor of the Jews, op. cit, p. 5.

Abbot Gregory and the Jews

how it was reserved for this century of tolerance and reason, of
to see a respectable minister of the altars raise his voice in this tri-
'bune in favor of the unfortunate remnants of Israel'. The Paris Gazette
of November 11, 1789, is equally moved to see 'a priest of
the Gospel, a priest of the Roman Catholic Church, becoming the defender of
Jews, and bring their case before the tribunal of the National Assembly.' This
which, in the eyes of some, immediately makes Gregory an adversary to
to bring down and provides a very effective weapon against him in the camps
types of denigration that begin with the discussion on the
Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

Subsequently, the text of the Æssa itself fell into oblivion.
and the malicious meticulousness of a Drumont was fortunately strong
little shared. In fact, Abbot Grégoire had hardly any direct descendants.
But, besides the continuity of memory always maintained by the
The Society of Friends of Abbé Grégoire, which organizes an annual
pilgrimage to his tomb, formerly in the Montparnasse cemetery, to
present in the Pantheon, its recent rediscovery, not limited to the only
the sphere of official celebrations, is also the work of groups, confessions
whether they are nationals or not, who wish to draw inspiration from his work
to work as citizens in the effort to integrate minors

rituals and cultures in a French society that has the most striking example of them need."

Grégoire's long-standing, very positive image in all matters
The Jews themselves constitute an illustration of the strength of the
the link between French Jews and the Revolution, and even a very particular-
ment with the Republic, as evidenced by the statue of 1885.
A link which, it turned out, could also be used against him.
for those who harbor hostility towards the Republic of their time,
towards the French Revolution and its work, and towards the Jews they
They associate themselves with them in so many ways, including occult ones.

But the project of Gregory and his friends undoubtedly also had an influence
by another route, indirect but important due to the scale of its
consequences, on the evolution of the status of Jews as well as all the
French religious minorities. The establishment of a civil status of
the Church of France through the Constituent Assembly, the Civil Constitution

Cited by D. Feuerwerker, L'émancipation des Juifs en France, op. cit, p. 315.
5 ARAG of Blois, ALAAG of Emberménil, parish of priest Grégoire in
Lorraine, both founded in 1989.

of the clergy, was not the work of patriotic priests, according to the wishes of the-
which she answered only very imperfectly, but these last-
niers had, through their speeches, notably contributed to lending credence to
the very idea of a reform. And, once it was passed, they...
wanted the main defenders on the field with a zeal that has
wind contributed to the outbreak of the conflict sparked by the implementation
of the reform. By the dramatic proportions it has taken on, this
This conflict, in turn, has clearly contributed to radicalizing the idea of a
secularism, which was intended to provide the framework for the exercise of freedom of rel
In France.

A closer look at Grégoire's case also leads us to recognize-
to astound the importance of the theological problem and consequently the
the difficulty raised by the recognition of a place for Jews
in a French society that is both secular and largely
Catholic, or at least so deeply imbued with a culture
which, for its part, remains overwhelmingly Catholic. A theological problem that does not
A solution was found only with the Second Vatican Council, and even then, not so much.
While this solution is readily available, it cannot be guaranteed
to what extent it is actually disseminated and mobilized. At
less is needed, from a dynamic perspective, the support of which proves
valuable for placing Gregory in his own time, to hold
taking into account the fact that while he certainly cannot imagine another voca-
tion for the Jews than that of serving to the fulfillment of pro-
masses celebrated in the Church, he already has in common with the fathers of the last

ecumenical council, the idea of a specific divine plan for the Jews and at least a beginning of accepting his ignorance regarding the ways of implementing this project.

19th Century France
AND ABOUT THE DREYFUS AFFAIR

SAMUEL CAHEN'S BIBLE COMMENTARY

Bertram Eugene Schwarzbach

The point of departure for this and any other study of the complex relations of Jews and Judaism with the (French) Enlightenment is Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg's thesis, The French Enlightenment and the Jews (Columbia University Press and Jewish Publication Society, New York and Philadelphia, 1968). When it appeared it was generally well received, except by HR Trevor-Roper in the New York Review! and, simultaneously, though there were delays in publication, by me in Diderot Studies" Yhe near unanimity in praise of a book on a subject where few reviewers could possibly have been expert—how many of they were capable of reading the responsa and novelle of the 18th-century French rabbis intelligently and historically? was due in part to its polemical attack on 'ferners', the French philosophers, for one of the most politically incorrect ills of American society, anti-Semitism. In 1968 the Establishment, which was taken to be the heir of the Enlightenment because, as schoolchildren, we were all taught that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were the high-is expression of its political thought, was out of favor among the young, who were alienated from the government because they did not want to serve in Vietnam, and consequently among the aging demagogues who aspired to be their mentors, because racial dis-crime persisted despite President Johnson's civil rights legislation tion, because of the legal repression of hallucinogens and hard and soft drugs, and because of parental and societal discouragement of free love, of everything that made life worth living. Those were the days when even adults who should have known better believed im flower power and consequently, if not very historically or philo-sophically, associated the Enlightenment with the cultural banality the avant-garde challenged and with repression in the name of good

! "Some of my best friends are Philosophers', Nav York Review of Books, April 22 1968, p. 11-14, and Hertzberg's exchange with Trevor-Roper, Oct. 24, 1968.
2? Dhaderot Studies XVI, 1973, pp. 361-374.

morals that the young resented when they did not have the courage to ignore it.

Those were also the years when the Black nationalists decided to wrest their rights from white society without the aid of their erst-while Jewish allies, and added heresy to injury by supporting a Palestinian cause which was irrelevant to their all too real grievance ances. The trauma of that rejection brought clairvoyance to Jews on the Left who had been less prescient than Hertzberg, and convinced many of them, like the group editing Commentary magazine. though not Hertzberg, who has remained faithful to the New Deal liberal-ism with which he was raised, to convert to right-wing politics, as though the American Right were less anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist than the 1960s Left. That crisis of conscience disposed reviewers. Jews and gentile, in Hertzberg's favor. Intellectuals' illusions are always fun. Where I differed with Hertzberg then was that I could not see, and still can't, how the predatory Black Panthers of the 1960s and the uncouth and naive students who 'hberated' much of Columbia University in the Spring of 1968—these are the recollections of a witness who enjoyed the deviltry and wit of the occupation of a/ma mater from a respectable distance and still regrets being prevented by the police from participating - could be reckoned the heirs of the relatively conservative pre-Revolutionary philosophers and. in particular lar, of the supremely elegant and cynical Voltaire.

In preparation for this colloquium [reread chapters of Hertzberg's book, and I regret not so much having criticized it so vigorously, as having underestimated its real virtues, an overall social, religious and halakhic tableau of Jewish life in 18th century France, in all its variety. Some work has been done since by Richard Popkin and by myself on the relations between Enlightenment religious criticism and Jewish antichristian polemics, classical and near contemporary rary (Amsterdam)—[hope to say more about that on another occasion sion, On the principal personalities of the Sephardic communities in eighteenth-century France, and on certain figures in the French Ashkenazic world, and on the Jews who participated in the Metz essay competition and in the drama of the Emancipation, but Hertzberg, Rabbi Autre Schwarzfuchs and your late compatriot and master, Jacob Katz, remain the only ones among us who have read the haldkhic wriings of the rabbis of both the Ashkenazic and Scphardic traditions and therefore they are the only ones among us who are, or in the case of Katz, who were, in a position to arrive at a fair

Judgment of the level of practice and commitment prevalent in pre-Emancipation French Jewry, from which point alone it is relevant to measure the acculturation of individuals and communities in the aftermath of the Emancipation and thus of the damage to Jews

identity inflicted by the Enlightenment. (This argument supposes what many of us may question, that a decline in ritual practice and in interest in halakhic study are to be regretted.) I still maintain that Rabbi Hertzberg's fundamental thesis, that Voltaire was to raving anüsemite and that the major writers of the French Enlightenment—the honorable exceptions being Montesquieu, Rousseau and Condorcet—were not much better, though some of the minor figures and Churchmen were reasonably well disposed to the Jews, and his second thesis, that the anti-Semitism of the Left, despite the Marxist claim that there can be no such thing, was their legacy, are overdrawn to the point of being mistaken. There are more errors of detail in Hertzberg's treatment of literary matters, and of Churchmen, and more serious ones, than I had noticed in 1968. But Hertzberg was, of course, right to recognize the anti-Semitism of the Left—growing up during the Depression, he knew more about it than those of us who grew up during and after the War, when the American Left had splintered, and since it was his secondary thesis, I suppose that it was well embedded in the research for his thesis since its inception.

In particular, Î retained the recollection that Hertzberg bore a grudge against the Enlightenment because it had posed an intellectual challenge with which the Judaism of the period, and the orthodoxy of his day could not cope.* That was rather like blaming the messenger for the message he bears, and Hertzberg was too sophisticated ticated and too modern in his way of studying Jewish history, Bible and the evolution of halakhah to do so explicitly. I looked through his text for a lapidary expression of that resentment, and, though I couldn't find one, I still think that that is what is implicit in his analysis of the Voltaire-Pinto exchange of civilities, where he distinguishes between Voltaire's 'Western' and Pinto's 'Jewish' thought—I cannot see, even today, that Pinto thought anything differently than Voltaire, though he clearly had different loyalties—, and his extrapolation of Voltaire's reply to Pinto into a request that the Jews

3 This is admitted more explicitly in Edward Breuer, The Limits of Enlightenment. Jews, Germans and the Eighteenth-Century Study of Scripture, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1996, ch. 11.

abandon the latter to adopt the former, as though there were some fundamental but undefined incompatibility between them. Many 'orthodox' ideologists of our time agree with Hertzberg, though I doubt that he would appreciate their company, and I am sure that most of them would be mortally embarrassed to learn that they were agreeing with an aggressive Conservative rabbi. They claim to employ an exclusively Jewish type of thinking, and disdain Jews like Hertzhberg who have been corrupted by Western thought and Tissenschafi. Here Ï am thinking of the controversy over the Artscroll Bible commen-

taries, and of an extract from a journal of 'orthodox' Jewish scientists
tists where Russell J. Hendel tries to distinguish between the Bible
criticism that can be found in pre-Enlightenment Jewish sources. and
is therefore acceptable, and the Bible criticism of authors who have
read non-Jewish Bible studies and have become contaminated and
which is to be rejected.' It is rather like refusing the validity of a
theorem because the mathematician who proved it is a philander-
ing drunkard and closet anti-Semite or worse. One result of this 1de-
ology has been a purge of Jewish intellectual history of much of
its non alakhic and non midrashic content, .e., of its scientific and
philosophical traditions. Some years ago a pious Paris bookseller
refused to sell me a modern edition of Kimhi on Isaiah because
UPXK 729 No. 7 N11. In my innocence, [did not realize that, before
the appearance of the 3122" volume of Menahem Cohen's MINS
797 M1, in 1996, there was no such complete edition. Nor could
T imagine what the bookseller or his guru reckoned Kimhrs offense
to have been. Now I can. Kimhi is remarkably analytic in his com-
mentary on the Psalms, viewing each chapter as a unit, like Jerome
in his introductions to books of the Bible, rather than as a series of
cdifying but autonomous verses, and in his introductions to Joshua.
to Chronicles and elsewhere Kimhi entertained some primitive notions
about the evolution of Biblical texts. Actually, my bookseller prob-

f%,.Like Talmud Torah, epikorsus (heresy) is defined by its source,;—not just by
its happy. The Rishon's antitraditional statement, [sx] emanates from an ideologi-
cally committed person who is attempting to study tradition by logically analyzing
Biblical texts. The epikorus' antitraditional statement [sic] emanates from an anti-
ideologically committed person analyzing Biblical texts. . ”, 'Towards a Definition
of Torah', Proceedings of the Association of Orthodox Jewish Scientists 3-4 (1976), cited
B. Barry Levy, 'Our Torah, Your Torah, and Their Torah', in Truth and Compassion.
Essays on Fudaism and Religion in Memory of Rabbi Dr. Solomon Frank, ed. Howard Joseph,
et al, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ont., 1983, p. 176.

ably mistook Kimhi for Werner Kummel or some other German
Bible scholar with whose name it was more respectable not to be
familiar.

In terms of the history of exegesis, they, my Parisian bookseller,
his guru and Hertzberg 'got it all wrang' (what Samuel Becket is
supposed to have said upon seeing a misconceived production of one
of his plays). For Christian scholars, 'recent' Jewish exegesis, ze, post-
Christian Jewish exegesis, represented in philological and rationalis-
üc reading of the Bible that ignored or excluded its allegorical,
'spiritual' and mystical senses, a perverse reading because it refused
to acknowledge the obvious {to them) applications of messianic verses
to Jesus. We have shown to what extent Richard Simon was indebted
to rabbinic texts in his creation of the modern, historically oriented

Bible criticism" that 18th century Germans refined and applied, and that, in the context of 18th century French Bible studies, Voltaire's Bible criticism was, paradoxically, Jewish Bible criticism.

It is this alleged incompatbility between authentically Jewish thinking and Enlightenment thinking and values that I would like to test here today, in the special case of French eighteenth-century Bible criticism,° because Voltaire's in particular seems to offend Hertzberg, Peter Gay and many lesser critics, but I shall try to do so like a

5 'The Rabbinic Sources of Richard Simon's Biblical Criticism', Le Grand Century and the Bible, Bible of All Time, 6, edited by Jean-Robert Armogathe, Beauchesne, Paris, 1989, pp. 207-232.

5 I assume that everyone here is an expert in eighteenth-century French, English and German Bible criticism. Pro forma, let me suggest a few articles that expose the materials that underly our remarks here,

Breuer, chapters iii and iv.
Marie-Hélène Cotoni, The Exegesis of the New Testament in Tenth-Century French Philosophy

eighth century, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 220, 1984.

'Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot', The Age of Enlightenment and the Bible. Bible for all time, 7, under the direction of Yvon Belaval and Dominique Bourel, Beauchesne, Paris, 1986, pp. 779-804.

Anna-Ruth Lowenbrück, 'Johann David Michaëlis and the beginnings of bib criticism

lique', tbid., pp. 113-128.

Else Walravens, 'The Bible among freethinkers in Germany', 1bid., pp. 579-598.
Schwarzbach, 'The Opponents of the Bible', thd., pp. 139-166.
-, 'There is much to be learned from a cynical devil..." Biblical criticism and
'Religion of the Philosophers and Clandestine Groups in the 17th Century', Review of the E

Renan, NS, 42, 1999, pp. 111-168.

Biblical Criticism in the Examinations of the Bible and in certain other treatises

clandestins, La Lettre clandestine, nos. 1-4, 1992-1995, pp. 577-612.

Henning graf von Reventlow, The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World,

trans. John Bowden, London, SCM Press Lid., 1984.

historian and not like an ideologue, of whom, I believe you have

no shortage here. I therefore ask the question, were all Jews who lived through the Enlightenment and the Emancipation conscious of the incompatibility that Hertzherg implied existed between an authentic Judaism and the brave new world of the intellect that the eighteenth-century philosophers opened up for them? Did all Jews of those periods think that the writings of the Enlightenment, and in particular those of the Enlightenment philosophers regarding the Bible, were unfriendly to Judaism? Did all Jews assume that the challenge of Enlightenment religious criticism was too daunting to take up? Cast in such an absolute form, the questions can only be sussusceptible to negative answers. One can always find exceptions to anything generalization. The most obvious exception would be the maskilhim. but were they 'authentic Jews'? The orthodox party line these days, repeated by rabbis who have never read a word of Mendelssohn's work, and know nothing about his more Judicious disciples, and echoed by an equally ignorant orthodox laity, is that they were not, because some of Mendelssohn's descendants converted. ('By their fruit shall ye know them!) But are there other exceptions, thinkers both incontestably Jewish and sufficiently important to undermine the generalization? Did the French Jews of the late 18th century and earl 19th, or more pertinently, their 'spiritual' leaders, seek to wage ideological war with the Enlightenment, the wav the Catholic Church throughout most of the 18th and 19th centuries reckoned itself at war with the Enlightenment and its progeny, republicanism, socialism and the trade union movement, or the way that the orthodoxy that derives from the Hatam Sofer waged its Auliurkampf against the haskalah and its progeny, any and all modernizing trends on the 19th century Jewish scene, or the way today’s evangelical fundamentalsts and their 'orthodox' Jewish allies imagine themselves engaged im a mortal Aulturkampf with heberalism, secularism, tolerance and pluralism?

T shall propose here a single, but important, counter example to that assertion of the incompatibility of Western-Enlightenment thinking and 'authentically Jewish' thinking. 1 shall leave it to historians of Jewish philosophy to demonstrate to any idcologues who mav be present that there was nothing innovative in Samuel Cahen's borrowing from gentile sources, that there had always been fruitful exchanges between 'authentic' Jewish philosophers and pagan and Christian and Moslem philosophies and methodologies, and to historians of Hebrew grammar and Jewish Biblical exegesis to show

how both disciplines often benefited from contacts with Christian and Arabic models, and I shall certainly not presume to decide whether Cahen's Bible commentary was orthodox in its time, nor whether it remains so today, because orthodoxy evolves, and what was orthodox in 1830 need no longer be so. Defining orthodoxy is rabbis' business anyway, not historians', and they are inevitably judged by the members of their communities, by outsiders and eventually by

history for their inclusions and exclusions. The Amsterdam Sephardic community has been characterized as irredeemably narrow-minded because it excommunicated Spinoza, though its intellectual production was not negligible, and it surely had many other virtues, including its assimilation of the crypto-Jews who returned to the faith of their ancestors, and probably other defects, the seventeenth-century Catholic Church by its condemnation of Galileo and all that implied in regard to its relations with scientists and science, natural and religious, and John Paul Ils Church by some of his recent beatifications. As a historian (of letters) I shall merely take the liberty of reminding any amateur connoisseurs of Jewish orthodoxy who may be present of what Yeshayahu Leibowitz once wrote, that the spectrum of Jewish thought has in fact ranged from the most extreme rationalism (notably that of his venerated Maimonides) to the most radical mysticism. And I would add, between the most unreflective orthopraxis, his and Mendelssohn's, to the distinctly antinomian tendencies of certain Jewish messianic and mystical sects. Short of asserting an incarnation of the Divinity, it is very hard to be heterodox, and some of our Chabad friends have managed even that without being excluded from the contemporary Jewish fold.

It is more interesting to invoke the category of authentically Jewish, which we may define all too imprecisely as being engaged with the Jewish intellectual tradition in its depth and its diversity, and being antichristian. I fully agree that one should be able to be authenticated cally Jewish without being either an intellectual and researcher in Jewish philosophy and the history of kalakhah or being antichristian, that occasional Christians have been more learned in rabbinics than most Jews, and that being antichristian is not a sufficient condition for being authentically Jewish—otherwise the 17th century Japanese who persecuted Christian missionaries," not to speak of Diocletian

7? See Jacques Proust's preface to Constévão Ferreira, Supercherte unveiled. A Refutation of Catholicism in 17th Century Japan, Chandeigne, Paris, 1998, pp. 12–16.

and his magistrates, would all have been authentically Jewish —, but for our purposes, in the context of the predominantly Catholic society ety of Restoration France in which Cahen made his career, where obsequiousness to the religious sensibilities of the ruling class 1f not outright conversion must have been irresistible temptations for socially and professionally ambitious Jews, a vigorous anti-Christianity 1s to guarantee of sorts of an authors Jewish identity.

A brief word about Samuel Cahen (1796–1862), brief because I have found only the most limited biographical and critical information about him.® He studied languages as a young man—this corresponds to the haskalah program—, though apparently not in

university—l do not know when the first Jew was admitted to a 19th century French university, nor whether any French university of the time trained students in Bibhcal philology and the alhed subjects with which Cahen shows acquaintance if not always professional sional expertise”—, as well as the traditional Jewish curriculum, and became a Journalist, an educator and Bible scholar. He created the Archives 1Sraéites de France and edited it from 1840 to 1860, written an Israelite Yearbook (1832–1833), a calendar with indications regarding The year's liturgical practices, D'UN SN 17 VOS. Elementary summary religious and moral instruction for young French Jews, 1820), the First successful French Jewish catechism, 1327–1392, Prayers that are recited at the cemetery, near the sick, the dying and the dead (1847), DT NPA, Hebrew Reading Course (1932), A Glimpse into the Latest Letters tsarbhaticks (1839), a reply to the redoubtable Jewish polemicist and would-be radical reformer of Jewish faith and practice, Olr Terquem, and The Bible translation and commentaries, The Bible. New translation. Paris, 18v., 1831 1839, that will interest us here. He proudlv identified himself as 'Director of the Jewish School of Paris'. If this literary production does not attest to his status as an 'authentic' Jew engaged in the sacred task of educating the French Jewish communitr however well or badly the traditional institutions of Jewish education

∗Sce Phyllis Cohen Albert, The Modernization of French Gawry: Consistory and Community in the Nineteenth Century, Brandeis University Press, Hanover, 1977, pp. 50, 91–92, 141, 161, 164–168, 198, 242, 250, 286. Also see Colette Piette, Les Juifs de Paris (1808 1440). The March Towards Assimilation, Presses de l'Université Laval, Quebec, 185 bp 22122 16;

. ∗ Until quite recently, they were not taught in the Sorbonne proper, but in the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes.

among the Sephardim of Bordeaux and Bayonne and the Ashkenazim of Alsace and Lorraine had functioned before the Revolution and the Emancipation, the upheavals they brought not only to Jews but to all of French society and to the French economy into both of which the Jews who found themselves in France were progressively integrating themselves, required that the Jews create new educational institutions and curricula—, who, since the death in 1812 of the still medieval first Chief Rabbi, Joseph David Sinzheim, had a better claim? To judge from the list of subscribers to Cahen's Bible translation—they were mostly gentiles including the naturalist, Cuvier,'° the novelist, Balzac, and the painter, Ingres, among various less well-known members of the nobility, public administration, and the academy emies, as well as many pastors, very few members of the Catholic clergy, and finally, by a decree of the Royal Council of Instruction public, 10 August 1832, all Catholic and Protestant seminaries were ordered to subscribe to Cahen's translation!"—he was also even

the unelected spokesperson for Judaism before the court of non-Jewish French intellectuals. After the first two volumes appeared, the Israelite Consistory of the Seine district, upon the recommendation of Chief Rabbi Marchand Ennery, bought several copies.!? He collaborated with Salomon Munk, the great Hebrew and Arabic scholar who, together with Ernest Renan in Paris and their younger colleague, Ignaz Goldziher in Budapest, created the discipline of Islamic philosophy. (Munk edited the Arabic text of the D°2121 17, in part from manuscripts in the Bibliothèque royale, Le guide for the lost, Paris, 1856-1866, 3 vols., compiled the admirable catalogue of Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts in the royal library, now the BNF, and finally, in 1865, replaced Renan as professor of Hebrew at the Collège de France after the scandal caused by the The publication of La vie de Jésus in 1863 obliged Renan to resign. Better a real Jew in such a prestigious position than a renegade Catholic!)

Actually, there was a need for new Bible translations and commentaries. Among the Catholics, none of the 18th century French Catholic translations had gained acceptance, neither Richard Simon's

10 See the list of subscribers in the Exodus volume.

11 See the liminary pages of the Numbers volume.

12 See the liminary pages of the Numbers volume. The Isaiah volume contains a letter of congratulations from the then chief rabbi, Emmanuel Deutz and from the members of the Consistoire israélite de France.

very interesting and annotated 'Version de Trévoux'*it was censored and condemned by Bossuet but, contrary to what was generally imagined, read by scholars-, nor, among the Huguenots, the 1703 Leclerc New Testament translation, which does not scem to have been studied at all, or the exhaustively annotated translation by the two Saumur trained Berlin pastors, Jacques Lenfant and Isaac de Beausobre, The New Testament with notes (Amsterdam, 1718, 2v.). If they read Bible at all, the French Catholics still read the Isaac Le Maistre de Sac 'Version de Mons' or 'de Port-Royal' of 1665 1693. which was often a euphemistic and apologetic paraphrase of the Vulgate rather than a reliable translation of the oldest and most authoritative texts, but it was at least written in the French of Racine and Pascal that had become classical, and the most curious among they probably still read the comments of the Benedictine, Dom Augustin Calmet (1707-1716 or one of the later and often more 'orthodox' editions like that of the abbot of Vence 1738-1743), who was almost as learned as he was credulous, and almost as credulous as he was orthodox. The French Protestants were in even worse shape, relying on the linguistically outmoded 1535 Olivétan transla-

tion, hesitantly brought up-to-date in the Bible de Genère of 1540, im 1546 by Calvin himself, and again in 1588, then by Diodaa im 1644. by David Martin from 1696 to 1707, and by Jean-François Ostervald in 1744. The Jews had no French translation of the Bible since medieval times, apart from the Canticles, translated by Mardochai Venture in 1774, and those psalms that appear in the Sephardic liturgies that he also translated. It is said that Mendelssohn's trans- lation of the Bible taught German Jews the language of the principle palties and duchies in which they were achieving (varving degrees of) emancipation and social integration. In France the situation seems to have been reversed. To judge from the pedagogic character of Cahen's comments, French Jews must have needed Cahen to teach them Hebrew. It is our impression that his translation was amed at a highly cultivated public—it contains Greek (not always

The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ... with literal remarks and critiques sur les principaux difficultés, Etienne Ganneau, Trévoux, 1702.

See Frédéric Delforge, La Bible en France, Publisud and Société biblique française, Paris and Villiers-le-Bel, 1991, chapters in, iv, vi and vi. Delforge has very little : ne à. French-Jewish Bibles, Cahen's, Wogue's and the Rabbinat français, pp.

translated), Latin, German and French literary quotations, and assumes that its readers know quite a bit of theology, geography and history, just what Jews who had just come 'out of the ghetto', to use Jacob Katz's phrase, at best equipped from the pre-Revolutionary heder with the rudiments of Gemara and, in still rarer cases, with the elements of Hebrew and maybe, in extraordinary cases, with some Hebrew morphology, are not likely to have known, since there were so many barniers, official, cultural and economic, to their attendance in French schools. He must have been loving at a minority of highly cornered turated Jews, ... and at gentiles. His translation and notes are unabashedly Jewish, sometimes apologetic, demonstrating the excel- lence of Jewish law and of the Bible, and willing to use strange transliterations and Hebraisms where more French expressions were available—'cohanate' for priesthood, Aharone for Aaron, Mosche for Moïse and many more like them, rather like the André Chouraqui Bible translation of 1974 -1979 (Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 22v.). Cahen gives Patristic Scriptural apologetics no quarter, never miss- ing an opportunity to refute the applications of Old Testament passages to Jesus that had been made in the Gospels and in subsequent Christian texts, translating extracts from Kimhis DS? M2WN on Psalms ü, xxi and cx and his refutation of the christological inter- pretation of [saiah li that is so little known that it does not appear in Menahem Cohen's edition of Kimhi on Isaiah."* In the same sense he cites from Yom-Tov Lipmann's 41,580 (14 15th century), from Isaac of Trokis AN PM (late 16th century) and from the Nahmanides

disputation, as well as supporting arguments from a contemporary Heébraist named Testard about whom we know no more than that he contributed several articles on the mathematics of the Jewish calendar and other technical subjects to the appendices of Cahen's translation, and that he was a convert to Judaism. Cahen was criticized by several Catholic and Protestant reviewers who complained that he had falsified Scripture by denying that the 17% of Gen xlix.10 referred to Jesus, and he replied very tartly in an appendix to his second volume. Munk added an even more vigorous and learned concurring opinion to that volume, 'Examination of several

5 It appears in Edward Pococke, Appendix nolarum miscellanea, Oxford, 1654, which follows his "O3 2N3. Porta Mosis sive Dissertationes aliquot to R. Mose Maimonides, Oxford 1656, p. 332. Only Salomon Munk was likely to have known about the existence of these fragments of Kimhi that Pococke published from manuscripts in Oxford.

critiques of the first volume', defending both Cahen's 'rational' exegetical method and its results as valid and consistent with the Jewish tradition which he, Munk identifies in part with Sa'adia's approval of 'free examination' in religious matters, with Ibn Ezra's practice, and with elements of Bible criticism already present in his and Kimhrs comments. (Munk did not defend Cahen's interpretation of 772 because he had a different but still non-christological solution for its identity.) In the Leviticus volume Munk supplied a long Arabic extract, together with a translation, from the D°51331 1 (IILxxxn) on the sacrifices (pp. 146–150), another Arabic extract with translation tion (IL.xxix) in the Nombres volume (pp. 79–89), a 'Reflections on The worship of the ancient Hebrews in its relationship with other cults of antiquity', again in the Numéros volume (pp. 1–21) and, in the Isaiah volume, a text and translation from Sa'adia's M2 PIN (IL xxvii and xxxi). The Deuteronomy volume contamed information and texts regarding the Samaritans, and the Leviticus volume Testard's treatise on the mathematical techniques for calculaung the 'Talmudic calendar' (pp. 170–190) and other subjects of Jews scholarly interest appear in other volumes. Cahen's translation and commentaries were a sort of eclectic Jewish Encyclopedia of kimd that French Jewish institutions of our day no longer aspire to provide. (In their discharge, it must be added that there are now other sources of Jewish higher learning and that the Jewish communal organizations no longer need to monopolize the diffusion of Jewish studies. In fact, Cahen's translation, like his other publications, was evidently an entrepreneurial project. He was a junior grade abbot Migne!) There was only one re-edition of Cahen's translation (5v., 1845–1856. we have not compared it to the first edition). Whether for economics reasons (the cost of composition and printing of so many volumes), cultural reasons (the Jewish public for which the comments were pitched may not have expanded enough to warrant further re-edi-

tions and books scem to have had to longer physical fe in the earlv 19th century, when the paper was still of decent quality) or because the rabbis acquired some hesitations regarding his orthodoxy after having welcomed it im 1832, Cahen's comments seem to have fallen out of favor. Lazare Wogue translated the Pentateuch anew for synagogue use in 1860–1869 (The Pentateuch where the "ing books of Moses. New translation with explanatory notes, Paris, 5v.), claiming that Cahen's text was both too costly and insufficiently accurate. (It does not contain the gain and may have other technical defects

we have not noticed. The speed with which Cahen accomplished his task strongly suggests that he could not have given the Hebrew text the meticulous attention required to avoid errors in editing and composition.) At the end of the century, Zadoc Kahn and the French The rabbinate published yet another translation, The Bible Translated from the Text original by members of the French rabbinate (Paris, 1899), without commentaries. Rabbi Simon Schwarzfuchs, who is a far better connoisseur Of French literary style than ourselves, thinks that Cahen's French needed modernizing—intellectually, the comments were also far out of date, reflecting social and political values of the Restoration which were out of place in the stridently republican Third Republic, and more archeology had become available—and that ncither Wogue nor Zadoc Kahn and his colleagues sought to produce a more orthodox translation. We are not convinced of that, but a doctrinally sensitive comparison of the three translations may yield a clear-cut answer to the question of when French Jews began to acquire reservations vations about Cahen's work. That the French orthodox community of today would be shocked by Cahen's comments will be obvious in the course of these remarks and can be confirmed from the reedition of Cahen's translation seven years ago, with a completely Irrelevant introduction by Marc-Alain Ouaknine (The Bible, Paris, Les Belles-Lettres, 1994). Ouaknine, who writes edifying books about Talmud and Hebrew numerology for an admiring and largely 'orthodox' public, omits the comments. One can only deduce that he would not have lent his name to the re-edition of the commentaries had he read them, though economic calculations may also have entered into the decision to suppress them. Reprinting the commentaries, with incorporations of the errata, would have required a new composition of the text and created a Bible in many volumes that would surely have been harder to sell.

Now that we have established Cahen's impeccable Jewish credentals, let us look at his Bible commentary.

The range of sources that Cahen cites is surprising. His favorite Jewish commentators are Rashi, Kimhi, Ibn Ezra, Nahmanides, Maimonides and Joseph Albo (the contributions of the latter two, particularly their rationalizations of Jewish law, are necessarily drawn

from their philosophical writings), and he even cites Sa'adia occa-
sionally, probably through Munk, because he does not seem to have
been an Arabist, and Isaac Abrabanel on the Prophets, especially
the long and analytic introduction to Isaiah which is translated in

the appendix to the Isaïe volume (pp. [1]–#1).% As a rule, Cahen
does not bother to cite the midrash or homiletics in Rashi, or
Nahmanides' mysticism. He admires Ibn Ezra, but he does not he-
itate to criticize his philosophy and especially his astrology as unwor-
thy of the great man.!” The only modern Jewish sources that he
cites are the Mendelssohn translation of the Bible and the Brur,
which he attributes to Wessely, who had only joined the team after
the first two books of the Pentateuch had been commented upon,
Rabbi Isaac Samuel Reggio (1784 1855), Wolf Heidenheim on the
cantilations, a Dr. Creuzenach in Frankfurt, author of a Tariag
(Frankfort, 1833), actually the well known Michael Creizenach 1789-
18429)® the first volume of which 7112 MP, Schulchan Aruch, oder
Encyclopädische Darstellung der Mosaischen Gesetzes wie es durch die rab-
bimischen Satzungen sich augebildet hat bears the title Tharag, oder Inbeenff
der Mosaischen Vorschrifien nach talmudischer Interpretation—on the possi-
bility of modernizing halakhah, and the afore mentioned Testard. Hey
cites Mishnah and Gemara where relevant, often when halakhic
questions are at stake. He is no Caraite and, unlike some of the
crypto-Jews who returned to the faith, or the polemist Olrr Terquem.
he bears no grudge against rabbinic law and does not try to reduce

15 This is the repertoire admired by Richard Simon in the seventeenth century —
Breuer (pp. 85–86) does not realize that Simon was being consistent with his own
values, that he admired the Jewish pshaf commentators, just as he approved the
Christian pshat commentators, and that he disdained the Christian 'mystagogues' as
profoundly as he disdained the Jewish midrashic and halakhic interpretation, for their
lack of relevance to the enterprise of explaining the direct meaning of the Biblical
texts, which Breuer implicitly admits in his first chapter—and by Etienne Fourmont
in the early eighteenth. Breuer is a bit put out that the late 18th century German
Bible critics he discusses as the context in which the maskilim wrote and to which
they reacted disdained talmudic and most of the rabbinic exegesis, claiming that
their opinion of Jewish exegesis reflected a survival of the medieval Christian enmity
for the Talmud and for the rabbis (Breuer, ch. iv). A more natural explanation is
that the German Bible critics were seeking pshat interpretations, so midrashic and
halakhaic interpretations had little to offer them.

7 See Ex. p. 5, 'Aben Esra rises to considerations of astrology which one is
I was surprised to find such a thing in a man so educated and of such an independent mind.

8 See Breuer, pp. 23 and 335, note 31.

® Creizenach was a German Olry Terquem, something of a mathematician—

author of a book of seven-decimal logarithmic tables (1875) and manuals of algebra bra (1835), steriometric geometry (1835), and projective geometry (1835)}—and a polemical would-be reformer of Jewish law, holding that 'Talmud as a whole was untenable but that to compromise with modern ideas would be effected in the same dialectical way which the rabbis had harmonized the Law with the requirements of the time' (Jewish Encyclopedia, sv, vol. IV, pp. 341-342).

halakhah to Biblical law. He occasionally cites Talmudic non-halakhic exegesis, like the explanation in TB Rosh ha-Shanah 29a of why Moses' raising of his hands could have influenced the battle with

Amalek, Ex. xvi.11, '... when the Israelites looked up at the sky (that (He showed them Moses), and they humbled themselves before their heavenly father, they had the upper hand... (Ex., p. 71). Elsewhere, of course, Cahen can

express reservations concerning talmudic interpretation,

The Talmud claims (Bechoroth fol. 5) that these 300 [which are missing in the calculation of Names 11:39, confirmed in verse 43, sum of [censuses of the three Levitical families of verses 22, 28 and 34] were the eldest among the Levites; that, needing to be redeemed themselves- 'themselves, they could not serve as ransom for others; this explanation It is more difficult to admit than the object to be explained. How is it It is possible that 22,300 males from the age of one month do not include They only have 300 seniors, and exactly 300? That's against all probability Name. p: PO).

50 far so good, or rather so far so 'authentically Jewish'. But Cahen's repertoire of sources holds some surprises. He also cites Josephus and Philo, frequently. I do not know any Jewish writer before Cahen, and few since, who integrated either of these two out-of-the-main-stream Jewish writers into their notion of the authentic Jewish intellectual lectual and religious tradition. An even stranger source is the 720 297 of Aaron ben Joseph the Elder (--1250 1320), a Caraite whose pshat commentary on the Pentateuch was still unpublished but had been studied in manuscript, and admired, by Richard Simon.” In other words, Cahen draws upon his Jewish sources eclectically. Hey cites what seems to him to be cogent and relevant, and ignores the Rest in good conscience.

A preliminary and inescapable first observation is that, though the early German maskilim, mcluding Mendelssohn, were very conservative tive regarding the Biblical text itself, insisting upon the complete

2 The manuscript was brought to France along with many others and a wealth of rabbinic books by Louis XIIIs ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Achille de Harlay de Sancy. He bequeathed his collection to the Oratoire de Paris, where Simon cataloged and studied the manuscripts. During the Revolution, the library of the Oratory, like the other monastic libraries, was expropriated and the books and manuscripts distributed among the several newly public libraries. The manuscript of the 12m 720 was allocated to the Bibliothèque nationale, soon to become once again, after 1815, the Bibliothèque royale, where Cahen, or more probably Munk could have read it.

accuracy of the massoretic text, Cahen was not. He cites all the variants in the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch——apparently from the Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis et versione latina (Paris, 1753), edited by the rather antisemitic Oratorian, Charles-François Houbigant—and, as witnesses to ancient textual variants, the fargumim of Onkclos and 'Ben Ouziel' for all of the books of the Bible, as well as the Greek text whose retroversions yield a Hebrew text that differs from the massorehc, Without admitting the frequent unreliability of retroversions. When he suggests that these Greek, Samaritan and Fargumic texts are often better than the massoretic text he does not seem to be aware of Richard Simon's analysis that both the Samaritan and the Greek texts are occasionally better texts precisely because they are emended. Cahen quotes with enthusiasm (Ex., p. 108) the story in TJ, Ta'anith 4.2 (and elsewhere with slight variants) according to which there used to be three scrolls of the Pentateuch in the temple court, and the Israelites used to bring their scrolls to the temple to correct them by comparison with those model texts. But the three scrolls were in fact not identical, and to determine the correct reading by the critical methods of the time, they accepted the majority readings. This implies that already in Second Temple times the Biblical text was no longer impeccable.

Cahen has no illusions about the comprehensibility of the mass soretic text, and no scruple about admitting that some verses are incomprehensible (eg, regarding 322% 2515 777, Num. xxiv.17, 'It is a completely wasted effort to seek the meaning of a riddle whose solution has been lost for thousands of years', Name., p. 2”) or mutilated, eg, regarding 72102 27 NN, Num. xxi.14,

The sacred writer speaks of the Arnone torrent as forming the separation-political union of the Moabite and Amoni empires. Now the latter no longer existed in the writer's time; he felt it necessary to support his assertion by a passage taken from an older work, then sufficiently known to contemporary generations [7 AY? 20]. But this the extract, being merely a truncated narrative, made no sense to the generals the following tions, and perhaps even some errors crept in

copyists; it is therefore pointless to try to guess what which was already unknown more than two thousand years ago (Nom., p. 102).

Clearly, Cahen adopted the techniques of 'la critique' and those of the polyglot Bibles which, according to t6 Goshen-Gotistein 'relativized' the massoretic text. Kimhi in particular was sometimes interested in determine what was the correct text of the Bible, and the Tosafists

were capable of asking whether the Gemara cited a Biblical text correctly when it did not correspond to the text in use in their communitions. Rabbinic commentators regularly compared MKO" (textual variants) in manuscripts of the Gemara to determine which reading was the most authentic, so critical feats of venerated texts were not completely foreign to Judaism. Nevertheless, the systematic study of the ancient translations and schoha for testimony to the pristine form of an ancient text is reputed to be a fundamentally 'Western' procedure" because that sort of text criticism was invented by the Hellenistic grammarians in Alexandria to obtain reliable texts of the classics of their literary corpus, and the tradition was introduced into the Church by Origen to determine correct Bible texts. The same impulse touched Jewish circles, but quite a bit later, possibly as early as the 8th century but surely by the 9th, and in a different manner, when the creators of the massorah tried to codify and numerize what they took to be the authentic manuscript and reading tradition of the Biblical texts.

Nevertheless, Cahen's text is the classical, massoretical text, probably with the inevitable typographical and transcriptional errors of an editor who is not an expert in the massorah, which remains to this day a very arcane field. In practice however, a D°3270 JP" that corrected the typographical and editing errors found in the printed Hebrew Biblical texts in common use at the time accompanied Mendelssohn's translation and BrPur" It should have rendered the task of establishing correct and traditional text easy enough for a non expert like Cahen to do a decent job without an inordinate expenditure of time and energy. If there are deviations from the massorehc norm, they would be a result of negligence. While Cahen is capable of suggesting in his notes better readings on the basis of text criticism, for example, 929 299 for 75n 097 of Num. xxxi.16 (Nom., p. 1"2P), he does not introduce it, or any others that we have noticed, into his printed text.

The next most obvious remark is that Cahen's comments are philological and pedagogical. In his practice and theory, mterpretation follows from grammar. Cahen generally does not agree with the

2 See Breuer, chap. ii, for a survey of rabbinic text criticism and for a definition

of its limits.
Hibee Breuer, p. 54

midrashic elements the fargumim introduce, and he sometimes leaves the impression that he cites them 97379, to stand in contrast to his own more cautious interpretations. Today we know more about grammar, comparative semitic philology and lexicography than he knew and indeed could have known, so we need not be surprised that his philology and archaeology are outdated. But it is clear from his quote tions that he used Wilhem Gesenius' grammar and his lexicon as well as Kimhÿs lexicon (D*ŸUn 80) and the latter's and Ibn Ezra's grammars and commentaries, which is to say he completed the best rabbinic philology available to him with the best Semitic scholarship that the early 19th century could furnish, and he apparently saw no contradiction between them nor reason to be embarrassed when Gesenius was to be preferred to Kimhi and Ibn Ezra.

Cahen also cites other non-Jewish scholars: the Scottish Catholic Bible critic, Alexander Geddes,” Johann Severin Vater, WM.L. Vette, Heinrich Ewald, Ferdinand Hitzig and Ernst Rosenmüller among his contemporaries. He is very conscious of bringing the best of German Bible scholarship and criticism to the attention of the French public, this at a time when French Catholic Bible studies were resolutely insular and dogmatic,* just as Renan was to regard it as his mission fifty years later, in the History of the People of Israel (1884 1898) to import German Bible and religious studies to a France that he regarded as having remained insular and dogmatic. Among Enlightenment writers Cahen cites are Bishop Robert Lowth—in those days bishops of Oxford and London, which he successively was, were still likely to be scholars, even if much of their clergy is reputed to have been more interested in port and foxes than in patnistics and philology—for his translation and commentary on Isaiah and for his rhetorical studies of Biblical Hebrew that even Voltaire admired,” Johann Gottfried Herder on Hebrew poctry, the John Leclerc of the Bible commentaries (1693-1731) but not of his ear-Lier and more interesting Sentiments of some theologians from Holland.

© To judge from the short sketch of his work in Gerald Bray, Biblical interpreta-hion, past and present, Apollos, Leicester, 1996, p. 236, Geddes must have been an extraordinary figure, a Catholic Cahen who tried to incorporate Eichhorn's Bible criticism and Enlightenment moral scruples into his Bible studies.

See François Laplanche, The Bible in France between myth and critique: 16th-19th century Albin Michel, Paris, 1994, chap. vi.

Mendelssohn admired him, too, see Altmann, p. 410.

(1685), and Johann David Michaëlis® among his immediate predecessors cesso rs. There are occasional references to earlier works by John Spencer, De legibus hebroeorum (The Hague, 1686), and to Samuel Bochart's Geographie sacre (Caën, 1641) and his Hierozoicon (London, 1666) which were or should have been completely out of date. What did Cahen take from these Christian scholars? Mostly their science—philology, archacology and above all their pshat, TANT O3 523, DK 77 N° ON, but not infrequently also their apologetics, because they, too, tried to present the Bible in as favorable a light as possible wheat. There was, and remains, a community of interests among Jews and Christian Bible scholars in demonstrating the excellence of the Bible according to the prevailing values of the society in which they live, which is why Chief Rabbi of the British Empire JM Hertz could cite Christian authors so often in his commentary on the Pentateuch (1936), and why Cahen needed to show no scruple about enjoying from their work when he shared their values. In other words, he did not feel that he had to accept the conclusion of the midrashic dictum, PANN (9° 2 737 FDN) 9N, O2 A1, and he was doubtless pleased to demonstrate his breadth of culture and his fel—partnership with European scholars.

Both would have assured him a better reception outside the Jews community—to Judge from some reviews he published as appendices to the volumes of the translation and commentary, he was indeed highly appreciated—and would teach his coreligionists to look for scholarship and philosophy outside their own tradition as well as within it. He was pleased to translate (Ex., p. 7”) a remark of Abra—vanel's where the philosopher cites an unnamed PYMKT 2373 AR 'who regards Moses' staff both as the emblem of the commandment and justice . . .” to show that respectable Jewish Bible commentaries before his own were also open to the world of modern European thought.

In other words, Cahen uses Jewish and Christian scholars eclec—tically, treating them like sources, not authorities, taking from each what seemed plausible and useful to explain text, according to his own values and doctrinal position. That is to say, he takes what he needs to make Bible say what he wants it to say, which is what

25 See the paper, 'Scholarly Judeophilia of the Enlightenment in Germany: JD Michaëlis', by Dominique Bourel, in this volume.

religious philosophers, Jews and gentiles, but not anthologists of exe-
gesis like Calmet and the estimable ER Pn of the Mossad haRav
Kook (1985), have always done. As we shall see, there were con-
straints on Cahen's method, aspects of Bible that he could neither
approve nor suppress.

Of course, not all Cahen's apologetics are of Christian inspiration
tion. Far from it, because he valued Biblical law to the point of
excusing most of the draconian punishments prescribed for its viola-
lation, while the Pauline tradition that influenced most Christian
scholars were highly antinomian. An interesting example of his apologetic
geucs, because interesting it pits the Enlightenment tradition, Voltaire
and Kant among the philosophers, Grégoire and some of his colleagues
leagues of the Constitutional Church among the theologians, which
construes ethics as more important than theology, against a Gospel
tradition, concerns Lev. xix.18, 7323 Pr NATN), which is declared
by Jesus to be a new obligation,

Hillel and Akiba [Syra, ad loc] regard this principle as the foundational basis
demental of the whole law; this is also the opinion of a disciple of the Tal-
Mudists, of Saint Paul (Rom. xn.19, Gal. v.14); but in
the Gospel this precept is regarded as second principle (Mt. xxi.39;
(Mk 11.31), the first is the love of God which is spoken of in Deut.
ch. 6, v. 5,... We have always agreed to regard morality as
The foundation of religion, the rest is secondary; doing good to mankind
is the best proof one can give that one loves God

(Lev., p. 84).

Cahen's comments are resolutely pshat commentaries. He analy-
ses grammar, explains the system of binyanim, of tashlum dagesh, and
notes the presence of 'paragogic letters', like the K in D3SN or FRA.
Even that was traditional. Kimhi already knew about the paragogic
K, even if he did not have a Hebrew equivalent for the Greek term
that Cahen uses?' He takes pains to teach Hebrew lexicography,
Bike the distinctions among DBDA, T5 and Pi (Ex, p. 79). Whether
his distinctions are well founded or apologetical need not concern
us herc. He makes liberal use of the rabbinic dicta, NST NPA DN
WE “7 (cited explicitly by Munk, Ex. p. xü), 23 3092 77m 17727
DK (cited, eg., in Ex., p. 9) and nn MIA Op TN (cited eg,

7 See 772 720, ed. Isaac Rittenberg, Jerusalem, 1966, p. >0p v°–Y0p v° for
paradigms of nouns 'with additional initial letters'.

in Ex.,. p. 1?) to reject fanciful interpretations and to reorganize narratives. Here we should remark that his literalism is not slavish. He likes Rashis' comment on 12927 W1791 (Deut. xxii.17) 'it's a figurative expression' (Deut., p. 96). More generally, Cahen recognizes that religious philosophy and theology must necessarily be expressed im metaphorical or figurative terms,

When speaking of the infinite, absolute, immaterial being, man is obliged to to use terms that evoke finite, contingent objects. This a kind of trope, which metaphysics continually makes use of, throws often there is a certain obscurity about this science (Ex. p. F3).

To avoid conflicts with natural science, he interprets the 'days' of the Gen. i narrative as 'epochs',

It seems that this is not about the length of an ordinary day, since the sun had not yet been created; unless one takes for measures the Earth's rotation on its axis; which is unlikely. It is reasonable to believe that the expression "day" is used figuratively here. to signify an era (Gen., p. 3).

And

We can conjecture about the [structure of the creation narrative without Gen. i] that the cosmogonic narrative is a kind of ode. This circumstance testifies to the great antiquity of this document, which appears to date back to the earliest historical ages of Asian lands. It indicates a order of succession in the development of organized beings which acc- rope with the best-established geological theories to date day... However, Genesis is not a treatise on geology; it con- holds old ideas about this science (Gen., p. 5).

Cahen certainly does not deny miracles (see, eg, his remarks on Ex. iv.2–7, the signs with which Moses is to prove the authenticity of his mission to the Israelites and to Pharaoh), but he interprets them as rationally as possible whenever possible. For instance, the story of Lott's wife's sorry fate is certainly not true, though 'a petrification The saltworks may have given rise to this tradition. We know that the stalactites and stalagmites take on all sorts of shapes' (Gen., p. 21–52), and when Moses sweetens the waters of Marah, Ex. xv1.22–25, God shows him a certain wood which, Cahen claims (Ex., p. 1” to) had the natural property of absorbing water's bitterness, for which arbitrary claim he cites the support of Nahmanides. (fbn Ezra, ad. loc., had better sense and recognized that the sweetening of the water

was supposed to be a miracle.) He was obviously uncomfortable with

the ordeal of the wife suspected of adultery (Num. v.11–31) and prefers to imagine that it produced its visible effect by a psychosomatic reaction rather than by direct physical action.

The law in question here appears to be more of a tool of terror, and could not be considered as coming from God; not even from a legislator sensible and humane, because all infamy falls back on the woman. We can... to be considered at most as a political law, conceived to put in place limits to the unfounded suspicions of the Orientals, so jealous of honor of their wives (Geddes) (Nom., p. 29).

He tried to harmonize Bible with science when he could, but it 1s not his forte. Thus, since the rainbow necessarily existed before the deluge, 'The bow that I already placed at the creation', which is rather pretty, even if the text (1223 "nn® "NU? NN) does not justify his introduction of the 'already' which suggests a pluperfect, and he compares Noah's rainbow with another Divine sign, Iris's rainbow (Gen., p. 72). Less successfully, Cahen tries to explain the tabooed status of women during their menstrual period by alleging an undemonstratified medical phenomenon,

In hot climates, runoff is sometimes of a certain nature
It is very acrid and poisonous, and the legislator had to prescribe precautions.
multiplied and severe in this regard (Levit., p. 70),

and the reasons for the Biblical dietary restrictions are both to avoid social contact with idolaters which might lead to idolatry, and to avoid certain meats which, in the warm Palestinian climate, are indicated gestible (Levit., 0) (a medical apology for dietary laws can already be found in Maimonides, ©°3332 79% III.27.59b).

Cahen follows the Jewish commentators who try to eliminate a material conception of God despite verses like Ex. xxiv.10,... 87 PS2" 8 7 PN, while admitting ironically that that is their objective, as though it were not really playing fair and square with the texts."

We would now like to identify Cahen's theory of Biblical inspiration ration and the authority of the Bible in areas of faith, morals and law, and to coordinate it with his version of the history of the composition and transmission of the Bible, but he does not make it easy

2 See Ex. p. 109, 'One can understand the trouble that the commentators have gone to to make disappear what is materially apparent in this verse.

for us, because he does not begin with a statement of principles, except in regard to his preference for a 'rational method' over dogmatic harmonization ('dogmatic method') which, he explains (Preface' to the Gen. volume), suppose what is in question. Hey promises such an overview of the composition of the Pentateuch, which would almost necessarily have implied his theory of Biblical inspiration, for the Deuteronomy volume of the commentary, but then defers it to the Josué volume and does not supply it even there. We hope that our sampling is indeed representative enough to describe his practice if not his theory of inspiration which still eludes us.

Not only is the text often in bad shape but, Cahen admits, it is often quite late or contains glosses, or has a doublet or parallel pas-wise in another book and another context. In the first category Cahen mentions the classical examples, YN2 IX “2D12m (Gen. xii.6), TN PNTD" 129 Ton 790 99 DUN YN2 1229 UN 22997 (Gen. xxxvi.31), PAU VIN N DNS 712 JR D’PDTN JT DIN 1228 ND “201 (Ex. xvi.35), lan 1222 Deut MA) PINS ONMNNON DS TNT TIRE (Deut. i.11, Deut., p. ∗””, where he follows Vater, 'It is unlikely that Moses wrote this passage himself', and he supposes that it was introduced into Deuteronomy after David had conquered Rabbath, Il Sam. xi.26), and of course the last twelve verses of Deuteronomy. Here he cites Ibn Ezra, DT 2n35 PI0ER M, 27 “2? (Deut., p. 2"0P and cf, Baba Bathra 14b-15a) and observes that

The expression D'?NT DK [referring to Moses, Deut. xxxiüi.1] man of God, from this verse, and the following verse 4 [sx], show that this The composition is not by Moses. Aben Ezra also noticed the ex-pressure cited in this verse, but it admits supernatural data,

1e, prophecy (Deut., p. Y'). (Ibn Ezra noticed something strange about the expression, D'T?N7 UN, which describes several prophets in the historical books, Samuels and Kings, but does not draw the conclusion that Cahen attributes to him. Cahen mentions 72 72 YNT (Jud. xviüi.30), and accepts that it was added during or after the exile. He thinks that many of the psalms are late, including, of course, the famous 722 1172 92 (Ps. cxxxvii).

The repertoire of late verses and chapters had expanded by Cahen's time. Regarding Deut. xxxi, he follows Vater and remarks that 'Les The parts that compose it are so weakly linked that one can look like a strange document, verses 1-8 and likewise verses

24–30' (Deut., p. 7). The n°737 720 of Ex. xxiv.7 was an actual

document (Ex., FD). Lev. vi.37–38, 1999 nn NN', reminds him
that 'Vater suspects that the different collections of laws which
end here, the others ch. 26, v. 47, and ch. 27, v. 34 with for–
particular mules, existed separately in the original and were
interspersed in the account of the stay near Sinai (Lev., p. 73).
Deuteronomy, too, is composed of documents.” Joshua, chap. xxiv
is independent of the preceding chapters (Jos., p. 38, and may even
have been written by Joshua himself, which is to say that the rest
of the book was not.

Let us remark here that, though we have not found a trace of
Jean Astruc's four–source theory for Genesis, or any other formal
source theory, Cahen admits that Gen. i, a 'first document', 1s
characterized by the use of the word E'1%x while Gen. ü uses 7
D. He further admits that the books of the Pentateuch were com–
posed separately, long after Moses's death, that Leviticus. numbers
and Deuteronomy are all late texts–later than their putative author,
Moses–, and while Leviticus alone is 'of priestly character', the
others were also written by priests.® He has a more precise idea
about the construction of Isaiah, with i–xxxv being the prophecies of
Isaiah, xxxvi xxxix being (mostly) a parallel to IT Kings xx. 13 xx. 19,

The historical data in the following four chapters form a sup–
explanatory supplement to the collection of Isaiah's oracles, which probably will ter–
minus with chapter 39. This piece is already available, along with some
changes, IT Kings, 18, 13, to 19, 20. It is a matter of knowing the rap–
Which of these two texts is the original?

and he concludes that like the parallels in Chronicles to the Penta–
teuch and the earlier prophets, the parallel passage in Isaiah is a
corrected and amended text (Is, p. 126). Following Gesenius, he

"Whatever the truth of this contradiction, whether it's real or not, the fact remains that

The narrative, which is more continuous here, is so different from what it is above... tha
can look at it as another document” {Deut., p. D"%).

∗ 'The predilection with which the matter of sacrifices is treated clearly shows–
The fact that the author of Leviticus belonged to the priestly caste is evident. We find i
This third part of the Pentateuch contains more developments, more method
in the exposition as in the other four parts... Gramberg... places the com–
position in the fourth period beginning with the Babylonian exile' (Lev., p. [N]).

'This book [Numbers] is a collection of several documents. Vater thinks they are from several authors, since these documents sometimes seem to be con- tredire ... but Eichhorn seeks to refute these reasons, and attributes everything to Moses Gramberg places the composition of the Book of Numbers in the fourth period or at the beginning of the Babylonian exile' (Nom., p. [K]).

claims that Isaiah xl 1x are exilic texts for a variety of reasons including- ing the references to Cyrus in Is. xlv.1 (Is., p. 3”0P) that was already noted by Ibn Ezra, and the expression in Is. Ixvi.13, MN D'or, Isaac contains other extraneous material, in particular, Hezekiah's prayer, xxxvin.9–20, which provokes this remark,

The hymn follows, which is a kind of monologue. It is more concise. and more filled with images, but also more difficult than other com- positions of Isaiah. ... This song bears a strong resemblance to other anthems of this kind, however it does not bear the stamp of limitation; he even has some images that are particular to him and a The diction is quite difficult. Is it from Hiskia himself, or from Isaiah, or someone else Is another poet attributing it to him? The first opinion is not impossible (Is, pans).

Cahen docs not seem to notice redundancies within given narratives, lhke those of the flood or the descent of the manna or Moses's descent from Sinai with the tablets of the law,'' and which suggest synthesis its of parallel documents. The first of these served as the point of departure for Richard Simon's analysis (1678) and, subsequently, for Astruc's decomposition of Genesis into four documents (1753). Aim he does notice doublets and parallels in the various books, which had escaped Simon's and Jean Leclerc's (1685) notice for the most part: for instance Is. Ixii and xxxiv, oracles of Divine vengeance on Idomenia that Cahen holds to have been integrated into the book of Isaiah from separate documents, Num. xxi.28–29 and Jer. xlvin. 45–46 (Nom., p. 2), 'The following passage from Jeremiah is evident- copied or original of the present verse [Num. xx1.28] and the verse of the Pentateuch could be corrected according to the very clear verse of Jeremiah”) and Num. x.35 and Ps Ixvii.2 (Nom., p. 54). He also observes (Deut., p. 68) that the theophany arriving from the South is a theme common to Deut. xxxiii, to Jud. v.4 and to Hab. 11.5. Cahen's general exegetical tendency is to rationalize and to reduce mythology, prophecy and messianism to relatively banal phenomena.

31 Here he is more aware of chronological inconsistency. 'There is in this chapter [Ex. xxxiii] a series of speeches not arranged in chronological order; which throws over all a certain obscurity' (Ex., p. 1 "Ap"), through which he does not notice the dou-

blet, Ex. xxiü.17/Ex. xxxiv.23 (Ex., p. 160) without drawing any conclusion regarding the sources of the Exodus texts.

Müiracles

The fire that came forth from before God to consume the sacrifices in Lev. ix.24 was a bolt of lightning, and the glory of God which manifests itself to the Israelites in Lev. ix.23 was the flame that consummed the sacrifices (Lev., p. 33 and 32). The manna and the quail of Ex. xvi and Num. xi are timely, plausible, natural phenomena (Ex., p. 70), on the authority of the 18th century naturalist, Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon. The passage through the Red Sea was also naturally possible (Ex., p. ©”1), and Cahen is pleased to show that some of the ancient commentators also preferred to see natural phenomena in such narratives as Joshua's suspending the motion of the sun and the moon in the heavens ('Several commentators look- denounced this as a poetic fiction. Maimonides (More Xéb. Part (IL, ch. 35) says that the day seemed long given the grandeur of victory', Jos., p. D”). The plague of blood in Egypt has a natural explanation (Ex., p. 13), and that of darkness (Ex., p. 41) was the illusion of the Egyptians who were 'attacked by an ophthalnne'. whatever that might be. Not everything can be explained or needed be explained. The retrogression of the shadow in Is. xxxvir.8 (Is., p. 136) provokes the reflection,

We will also add, according to Gesenius; 'This would be to undertake it is impossible to decide what in this prophetic tradition is true and what belongs to fable, and one could be no more Happy are those who have tried to explain the miracles of the ancient like those of the New Testament.' So we did not try it.

Prophecy

He is not too comfortable with Miriam as a prophetess (Ex. xv.20), whether because she delivers no oracle or because it is not suitable for a woman to be a prophet (Ex., p. 30), so he banalizes prophecy in general as 'the ability to compose hymns or speeches of morality (Rashbam), thus foresight is not inherent in Nabisism [dry]. (Maimonides and, clearly inspired by his position, Spinoza also tried to reduce prophecy to a natural, philosophical function.)

Messianism

When God, speaking through the mouth of Isaiah refers to Cyrus as WTA (Is. xlv.1), the anointment is only a symbol of royalty (Is.

p. 2"©P), and the oracle of the messianic child (Is. ix.5), 5° 5 ∗3 17, is 'an ideal painting of a king, while the characterization of the messiah as an 13) ©K is translated as a 'powerful hero' rather than as to valiant god as the Christian tradition interprets the divine ity of Jesus from this prophecy. (1 cannot resist the temptation to compare this with André Caquot's competing but still more vigor- (Untranslated, 'a real tough guy'!) The reduction of messianism from the supernatural to the ideal/political should not surprise us. In the first place, Biblical messianism is not always supernatural and generally merely the cult of the (anointed and therefore messianic Davidic) king. The emphasis on the human element in Biblical messages Sianism has been a tendency in Jewish exegesis ever since Jews had to demonstrate to themselves and to others that Jesus was not the fulfillment of the messianic oracles.

Mythology

Like several Enlightenment commentators, notably Charles The Last Supper, Calmet and Lowth, Cahen reduces the vestiges of Biblical mythology ogy. While it is true that the mythological corpus was not so well known in Cahen's time as it was to become since the discovery and decipherment of the Babylonian tablets and, in our time the Ugaritic tablets, we have reason to be disappointed in him, since Voltaire, François de Volney and Antoine Court de Gébelin had already shown an interest in the mythology ('older, darker shapes') that the editors of the Bible had not completely suppressed. The Enlightenment did not speak with one voice on Bible, and Cahen did not always pre- iron the most one. The mysterious 2722 of Lev. xvii.7 are 'goats or Pans or fauns' rather than demons (despite Deut. 31. 17), and Cahen explains that the sacrifices were ordained to discourage just such sacrifices to the 'rural gods' (Lev. p. 32), while in the use of the verb N1?, here and elsewhere, in connection with idolatry, 'This is not actual prostitution. The expression is a Hebraism', 4th., a figure of speech frequency in Hebrew, which is true whether or not some sexual rite was implied here. 0 12 7971 of Is. xiv.12, the Lucifer of Paradise Lost, is translated as merely an 'bright star, son of the morning', and in commentary 77"1 is derived from word 177, wailing, 'Weep, son of the dawn' (Is., p. X”)). Take your choice. The &m), Nn?p2 Uni D, J'N, 172 and N°" of Ps. Ixxiv and Is. xxvii are taken to be metonymies for Pharaoh and the

Egyptians, even though the astute Kimhi had already recognized
that at least the n172 Un) and the NN9P2 UM (ad. loc.) were mythical
monsters. Cahen preferred Ibn Ezra's more rationalizing mterpreta-
tion. Job's #312 and #9? are, respectively, a hippopotamus (Job,
p. 190) and a crocodile or some equally real marine monster

As for the Leviathan in question here, it is both more terrible and more wonderful.
that the previous monster, its description also aims to
to show man his weakness. ... In our writer's time, he
It seems that we were not yet aware of the methods we use.
currently to take the animal designated as Leviathan,
whether it be crocodile or whale ..., Job, p. 2'PX, and cf., p. 10-K".

Sometimes the reduction is accomplished by comparison with pagan
folklore which, by tacit assumption, is fantastic, but sharing a myth
with the most prestigious Greeks is a mitigating factor in Cahen's
opinion of the Bible's good sense. For instance, the 7% of Is. xxxiv. 4.
probably an owl of some sort, provokes this comment,

... a fabulous creature of popular superstition among the Jews; she
also admits morning specters, Ps. 121, 6; Chaldean; "7528 and of
midday specters, Septuagint ôauuôvov ueonpepvov; Ps. 91, 6; Cant. of the
cant. 4, 6; Chaldean 71; this last species was supposed to wander
during the midday heat and at siesta time. This belief
It was also found among the Greeks and Romans, and is still found today.
among the people in Russia. ... The Lilith of the rabbis is a specter under
the woman [sc for form] of a beautiful woman, well adorned, who pour-
particularly follows children to kill them, like the Lauriæ and the
Striges. Lilith is said to be Adam's wife, with whom he procreated.
cesdemnons... {Is pal)

Or the DIN "12 of Gen. vi.2 are, following many of the Jews
commentators who seek to avoid the myth of fallen angels that
appears in Jude, 'son of the great'...

Most of the heroes of Greece are sons of its gods. She attributes
the same origin as the giants, the cyclopes, and the slightly different countries-
wind to have the same traditions (Gen., p. F").

Or with regard to the D°2373 (Gen. ii.24 and many other verses),

From the earliest times, people have attributed the government to heaven.

the monarchical forms of government in Asia; this is how one
assigned to God a crown, a throne, surrounded by servants placed
on various tiers, according to the hierarchical order of their functions...
(Gensp. 11),

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Asia and Asian social practices sem to represent rather consistently
for Cahen, the way they did for Nicolas-Antoine Boulanger, what is
backward and repressive in human society. He is also something of
a racist, in the strict sense of the word"? and no feminist at all.
He would also like to interpret sum philosophy out of the Jews
Scriptures. Commenting on Ex. ii.2, "© SN2... NN, he remarks,

On this subject, commentators indulge in cosmo- considerations
gonic, theosophical. The Talmudists distinguish in essence
divine the mode of rigorous justice ("77 n7A") contained in the two
td, ", and the mode of divine mercy (In NT) announced by
the tetragrammaton. We know how these Platonic ideas led to
the hypostatic theory (Ex., p. 23).

Another example: Cahen is quite satisfied that Ibn Ezra interprets
Deut. xxx1.39, TNT TA IN, to exclude the immortality of the soul
(Deut., p. 149). We do not yet know whether his prudence regard-
ing philosophy in Scripture is a general attitude, part of a historical
vision of an Old Testament that does not advance beyond a relationship
tively primitive level of theology and philosophy, or a reflection of
his rationalistic preferences, or even an intentional distancing of the
Jewish Scriptures from any and all elements of Christian theology
in this case the resurrection of the dead to be performed on the
occasion of Jesus' second coming. We suspect the latter.

Cahen's reconstruction of Jewish history is quite daring. Commenting
on Ex. vi.3 On7> "np No. 71 "AM, he remarks,

Commentators are trying to resolve these difficulties [a theory]
documentary in the style of Astruc [not included]. It seems likely to us that
among the various nomadic families scattered from the banks of
the Euphrates to the Arabian Gulf, and known as the Hebrews
(passengers), God was not worshipped under the same name. When afterwards
The Egyptian colony of Israelites prevailed; it gave its name and
that of his god to the nation and to the god of the nation; but the others
Names have not been abolished and are often cited. Aben Esra makes of this
passage of rather long cabalistic-astrological reflections (Ex., p. 22).

32 'The material superiority of the Semitic race is clearly established. It is not a matte

not here [Gen. 1x.27] of intellectual superiority; in this respect she has shown herself inferior to the other two races; it lacked the genius for invention, and applied primarily to religious matters. The founders of the three religions "The remaining monotheistic communities belong to the Semitic race" (Gen. D'=529)

#3 Cf, Jud., p. 71, regarding Jephtha's daughter.

Let us now pass to morals, an area where the religious criticism of the Enlightenment leveled vigorous normative attacks against the Bible. In a nutshell, Cahen is quite willing to condemn what the Bible approves, in part because he refuses to distinguish between interior ethics and exterior ethics, to use Jacob Katz's terminology {borrowed from Max Weber, | am told). Neither being poetically 'good for Jews', nor leading to the repression of idolatry is accepted as a moral justification for an illicit or cruel act. Here are some examples. Cahen does not like individual violence (who does?) and criticizes Phineas and Ehud:

This action [Pinkhas' assassination of the noble lovers, Zimri and Kozbi] shows devotion, courage, and fanaticism; she has served as text for many bloodthirsty sermons and stimulus to crimes committed in the name of religion. Sacrificing one's life in the name of The law is the most sublime duty of morality. Killing others is a cruel necessity that must always be ordered or by the mag- competent judge or by personal defense; apart from these two cases, It is difficult to determine what distinguishes murder from assassination. nat. ... [It should be noted that if the hereditary privilege of the cohenate is the reward for murder, the privilege of the Levitical caste is the reward for a massacre (Exodus ch. 23, v. 29); which is par- perfectly described in these verses by the greatest poet who ever lived [obviously, Racine, Afhahe IV ii] (Num., p. T3).

From the earliest times, despair has sometimes put the iron in the hands of a devoted man, who used it to rid the society of a tyrant. But success alone should not be the determining factor. to such an action. Not only must the murderer not be a cowardly assassin, but there must still be other means of liberation has become impossible. With the progress of reason, the use of such Means of postage can only become increasingly rare and humanity will no longer have to lament attacks carried out in its

Qjud name, p. 2°}

Jaël is unfavorably compared with à near contemporary and adnured

female assassin who risked her own life, to rid France of a man she
perceived to be a tyrant, while the Biblical heroine is praised for
betraying the obligations of alliance and the duties of hospitality by
killing a sleeping guest at no risk to herself or to her family,

We will add to what we have said above that he was able to present-
such a circumstance, that which after a long succession of centuries does not
does not seem to us to conform to the respect due to an unarmed enemy and
Trusting in hospitality was an act of devotion or at least of
Patriotic fanaticism. Who has ever thought of blaming heroic action?

Charlotte Corday? One liberates her country from a monster thanks to
from one interview, the other liberates the Israelites through a shameful ren-
against which it was necessary to take advantage ... (Jud., p. FD).

The revenge that God orders the Israelites to take from the Midianites,
Num. xxx1.17, is so shocking that Cahen is obliged, following Geddes,
to attribute it to Moses,

"We have a terrible bloodbath before us," said Gueddes.
Even the most cruel and savage nations have always been spared.
women and children of every sex; the lawgiver of the Hebrews, such
As history presents him, he was by no means belligerent, but inflexible.
tough, and like Samuel, merciless in revenge; he is a great
man, a great legislator, but of the Asian type. In his
In his adolescence, he killed an Egyptian; later, during the battle with the golden calf,
He is completely compromised; he orders a portion of the people to massacre
the other; likewise in the case of the Midianites; and here, after the battle,
He has women and children massacred, which is the humanity of the warrior
had spared. This characteristic indicates an education and habits
priestly. Leclerc says that God will probably reward these
children in the other world; such a justification borders on irony. He
it is more natural to admit that the sacred chronicler regarded as
legitimate all preventive and coercive means directed against the ido-
Lateria. Besides, we are reading an oriental writer. The amplification in
Good and evil is a local color; the Orient, very poetic, and
little historical. ... (Num., p. F2).

Leviticus xxvii.29, NA MY ETNT]9 DM ÈN ON 72 is a notorious
ously difficult verse, not for any linguistic reasons, but because it
lacks an explanatory context. Voltaire and Mme du Châtelet and
probably other Enlightenment commentators constructed it as author-
izing human sacrifice, which is what traditional Jewish commentators
went to great lengths to exclude. Not Cahen. '. .. There are too many facts

which prove the existence and execution of this barbaric law.' Another example of his frank opposition to the cruelty of Biblical law: Leviticus xx.14, concerning the sexual congress of a man with a woman and her mother, SN2 IPN NN 1970" N°7 TN, 'This is the only explicit punishment; It seems very harsh and, in our view, disproportionate to the crime. QE p: x).

I shall not cite Cahen's and Geddes's entire commentary on Deut. vi.2,...CNN D'nn DT, DJIN ND, first because it is too long (Deut., p. n”?-38), and secondly because it can only be constructed politically in your confrontation with the Palestinians, and a guest who shares neither his hosts' risks and burdens nor their moral responsibility

should not even appear to criticize their politics. Suffice it to say that Cahen, at the end of his remarks, is obliged to distinguish between God and the 'priestly writer' of Deuteronomy, who 1s also imbued with 'Asiatic' values.

A certain antinomianism is also characteristic of Enlightenment writings on religion and morals, and despite Cahen's general support of rabbinic halakhah, there are traces of that as well in the commentaries. In his comments on Deut. iv.2, 277 92 190n N> 9 SDS KNOWN TO ES She paraphrases Creizenach on whether the Jewish religion can develop. Extrapolating from the passage. Cahen cites, we suppose that Creizenach was discussing the extent to which the rabbis have legislated throughout Jewish history and the extent to which such legislation is authorized by the Bible. First, quite properly and pertinently, he treats 729 SN, then the Talmudic distinction between the Biblical laws that may be augmented by rabbinical edict (779), like the number of days in a holiday, compared with those that may not, like the number of plant species included in the DT NYSN, which cannot be increased, then Maimonides's insistence that law is eternal and invariant, a thesis whose implications would seem to limit rabbis' legislative power, and finally he cites Joseph Albo, the last of the Jewish medieval philosophers, to the contrary, arguing that law is relative to the public that must observe it, that the Pentateuch offers examples of laws that were changed, and that the Talmud says that all the holidays except Purim and Yom Kippur will eventually be abolished, an assertion that has transparently mitigaunge implications. (We have not vet identified the source for this, though there is a tradition, inspired by Zach. xiv.16 that Succoth alone will still be celebrated in messianic times.) Then Cahen himself adds an example,

To these reflections of our fellow believer, we will add that the The Pentateuch permits the slave trade, even for white people; is this to say that this reduction of human nature to the state of a merchant-

Is it a matter of divine institution and must it last forever? As said
Maimonides, religion, divine law is eternal; but its form, the
Worship is essentially variable. To worship this form is still the idol-
Latry. Words, ceremonies, days can become its object.
as well as sculpted images (Deut., p. 3-N”3).

(This imescapably recalls to brilliant and despairmglr acerbie reading
dclivered to an Alliance Israelite colloquium in Paris in the fall of
1998, by your greatly regretted compatriot, Ze'ev Falk, where he

deplored the 2 72m 232 that he saw enveloping contemporary
(porary orthodox Judaism.)

Finally, Cahen on the prohibition of marriage with the seven
Canaanite nations (Deut. vi.3) and, by extrapolation, with all non
Jews, which offended the Enlightenment value of sociability and con-
tradicted its characteristic supposition of the unity of the human kind,

According to natural logic, marriage with people from these nations is
permitted, as soon as they abandoned idolatry. That is the opinion of the rabbi.
Moses Mekoutsi [Moses of Cousy, 71131 MA 720] and it follows that
Marriage with other people is permitted, without the people
may need to renounce their religion. And indeed, these kinds of marriages
do not appear to have been rare. David and Solomon took wives
neighboring peoples, and these women remained attached to the cult of
idols. And yet Solomon is only blamed for having married
women of peoples with whom it was forbidden to form alliances before
their abjuration of idol worship, but by no means because these
Women were not of the Israelite religion. Moreover, Deuteronomy states this.
allows Israelites to marry women captured in war; it pre-
It involves certain formalities, but there is no question of a change
of religion. The Talmudist Saint Paul [sc!] even finds that these kinds
Unions are beneficial to religion (1 Cor. 7:14). It is in this sense, says
M. Creuzenach (Thanag, p. 45), that the great Sanhedrin summoned to
Paris under Napoleon, in 1807, explains the marriage of Jews with
Christians. No doubt, continues Mr. Creuznach, that the celebration
of marriage, as it is practiced today among the Israelites, has
it needs to be modified if we want to practice it in mixed marriages.
However, he adds, this is not, according to some purists, the
the main difficulty posed by the Talmud; for the Talmud does not invalidate
only the celebration of these kinds of marriages, but he watches them
as criminals, and he cites in this regard a synodal decision of the
time of the 'Hasmoneans. However, the Sanhedrin assumed with rai-
his that in this decision it only concerns marriages between Jews and
pagans, since it was taken before the establishment of Christianity. ..….

(Deut., p. 38–29).

Ï cannot resist one more example of Cahen's reservations about

Biblical law.

It is on this text [Deut. 21:23] that the Israelites based their beliefs,
until towards the end of the last century, to hasten the burial of the per-
Sons who died during the day. Honor to the philanthropists, first and foremost
of whom we will name Marcus Herz, a Jewish doctor from Berlin,
who put an end to such an inhumane prejudice, by demonstrating the dan-
Gers of a hasty burial! Time and police regulations
did the rest (Deut., p. 93).

Let me be very clear about the thesis that I am not defending here.
Ï am not claiming that what, in a pamphlet by a Voltaire or in Bible
commentary by Mme du Châtelet or a broadside by d'Holbach, can
only be reputed to be hostile to the Bible, incompatible with 'Jewish
thinking' and cven antisemitic, becomes kosher in the commentaries
of Cahen because he was (I suppose) a strictly practicing Jew and
certainly deeply committed to Jewish learning and Jewish law, while
they were not only gentiles but antagonists of religion in general and
of Jews and the Bible in particular. (That they were kind and
antagonists of Jewish law [must grant; that they were antagonists
of Jews on principle, Hertzberg's thesis, is an argument that [have
denied elsewhere, or, more precisely, that I have claimed is vastly
over drawn because the unflattering depiction of Jews and Judaism
in their antichristian polemics was a rhetorical device that should
not be taken at face value, and I have not yet changed my mind
on that.) That is the argument of Russell J. Hendel that we cited
above, that the religious credentials of the messenger determine the
admissibility of his message.

What we are arguing, no, what we are remarking, is that Cahen
shared many of the methods, assumptions and ethical biases of the
eighteenth-century philosophers. We have not interrupted our expo-
siion of Cahen's comments to document that agreement step by
step because it is or should be obvious to anyone who knows the
repertoire of 18th century French Bible criticism, what Hertzberg
called the 'Western thinking' or more precisely sull, the Enlightenment
thinking of the philosophers applied to religion and to the Bible. And
Cahen still remained a committed Jew! For him the two were not
incompatible, even if we can no longer see how he reconciled what
he admitted about the inspiration and the inerraney of Scripture im

science and in morals with its claim to spiritual and moral author-
ity and, consequently, with Jewish law, which derives its authority
from Biblical law even when we are sophisticated enough to recog-
mize that in fact it is legislated by the rabbis with only the most
transparent Of Biblical MRRS °30K. I suspect that it was no longer
clear to Wogue and Zadoc Kahn how Cahen accomplishcd that rec-
unciliation so they felt obliged to produce substitutes for his trans-
lation and commentaries. We should not be surprised that Cahen's
literary analyzes of Biblical texts should have produced problems for
Judaism analogous to those that liberal Protestantism was then encoun-
tering in its attempt to reconcile Bible with theology, morals and

history. By its nature, as Joseph L. Blau has argued, # religion is
always an appeal to an ancient and thus venerable tradition. Yet
values change and science advances, necessarily creating tensions
between the modern and the ancient. When coupled to the com-
mitment to literal interpretation that Jews had adopted to avoid
applying their texts to Jesus, and which the Enlightenment also
adopted, paradoxically, from the allegedly incompatible Jews and
Greco/Renaissance traditions," one avenue of conciliation was, and
TI believe remains, automatically excluded. Renan wrote as much at
the very end of his Averroës and Averroism, wondering rhetorically,

What would have become of humanity if, for eighteen centuries, it had
Have you heard of the Bible with the lexicons of Gesenius or Bretschneider?
You can't create anything from a text that you understand too precisely.
The truly fruitful interpretation, which, within the accepted authority once
for all, knows how to find an answer to the ever-evolving demands
The health of human nature is the work of consciousness, much more so.
than philology.

But this is a poet's and a philosopher's rather fairy approach to Bible,
separating truth from aesthetics and preferring the latter, and one
which, I believe, is not acceptable to any religious community, even
though, in practice they all ignore Gesenius and his successors, and
feel bound in their Biblical studies by nothing other than a need for
consistency with whatever subset of the religious tradition they learn
ciate.

The attitude of orthodox Judaism to this tension or antinomy, call
it what you will, recalls the title of a popular Broadway show of the
late 50s or early 60s. The advances in the history of ideas and in
Biblical philology in particular did not and do not stop because or-
thodox Jews 'want to get off'. Or, to close with a more distinguished
comparison, in the last of the Lettres provinciales, Pascal criticizes Pope
Zacharias for having excommunicated the Irish mathematician and

'itinerant bishop', St. Fergil or Virgil in 748—whether the letter to St Boniface critic of Fergil was tantamount to excommunication,

5 “Tradition and Innovation', in Essays on Jewish life and thought, presented in honor of Salo Wittmayer Baron, Blau, Fnedman, Hertzberg and Mendelsohn, eds., Columbia University Press, New York, 1959, pp. 95 104.

5% See Schwarzbach, 'How to read in the eighteenth century... the Bible and other books', Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century 308, 1993, pp. 323–348.

as Pascal assumed, need not concern us here—who had argued that there were inhabited antipodes, 4e., that the Earth was spherical and that it revolved about an axis.∗

What if we had consistent observations that prove that this is [The earth] that turns, all men together would not stop it not to turn, and would not stop themselves from turning with her.

The Biblical sciences that derive in large measure from the material alist, atheistic, antinomian Enlightenment no less than from the more religious currents of the Aufklärung, call them Western, analytical thinking or anything else you please, ebb and flow if we do not want to insist that every change in fashion in Biblical exegesis and philosophy ogy represents an advance, and religious thinkers either adopt and adapt however inconsistently, like Cahen in his time and Hertz in his, or, like ostrich, hide their head in the sand and hope that the danger will pass them by. The ostrich has not yet gone the way of the dinosaur, but a friend who visited South Africa recently informs me that they have no future outside the zoos. We go to the z00 to see these lovely relics, and to Bnei Brak, Meah Shearim and the self-segregating diaspora ghettos bike Stamford Hill, Williamsburgh or Lakewood to see their less decorative Jewish cousins. The anal- ogy is, of course, only partial.

∗ 'Quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint ceu sol et luna', see Dictionary

of Catholic theology, ed. Vacant and Mangenot, s.., 'Virgil of Salzburg (Saint). t. XV, col. 3094.

Alain Goldschläger

We know that the thinking defending the idea of a conspiracy
based on a circular reflection of the owrobors type. Either to be
understood and functional, this way of conceiving the world
must be considered after the admission of a prion that the conspiracy
exists. The basic premise becomes the ultimate justification for everything.
system and as such, proves indestructible from the outside. As
The explanation of the world and history follows a new
Reading the facts, it is necessary to learn a new language and to
decode everything according to a new set of premises. Only
after this initial learning to understand the world sui-
Before new lines are drawn, can we hope to understand the surrounding reality?
ronnante. From the moment one accepts the principle of the
Conspiracy, the reality of the world becomes clear and follows a logic
indestructible. This vision also becomes particularly protected from
any attack from the outside since, by definition, any negation
the existence of the conspiracy or its effectiveness is part of the investigation.
The conspiracy theory's scope. The more one attacks the reality of the theory,
The more we advance the proof of its existence, as Adolf claimed
Hitler on the Jewish conspiracy.

This situation explains why the most abstruse theories of
External factors can reinforce their followers' beliefs.
that their explanation and fears are well-founded. It is also
It is impossible to prove, through external arguments, the inconsistency of
These theories are used to prove the non-existence of God for a believer.
In both cases, there is an act of faith regarding the primary truth.
Essential foundations: God exists; conspiracy exists.
The similarities go beyond a simple fundamental assertion.
They continue in the way of accepting that certain aspects
of the unfolding and application of the supreme will remains-
rent unknown or even incomprehensible, it remains no less
that the supreme reality exists and governs the world.

We would therefore not want to engage in a discussion

sterile on particular aspects of this or that theory in order to
to demonstrate the emptiness or implausibility; what we propose-
The sounds we'll be addressing today focus on a reflection centered on a
a series of questions relating to the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy such as
than envisaged at the end of the 19th century and on its expression through the
the vagaries of the famous forgery The Protocols of the Elders of Zion and its reception-
tion through the years.

It is certainly not necessary to recall here the principles and tri-

compilations of this famous text which is supposed to report the provisions
photographs taken by the Chief Rabbis of Israel in the Prague cemetery
to organize the takeover of the world under the aegis of a Prince
Jewish. Different versions of the text offer some variations regarding
instead, to the participants, to the initial actions to be taken. We remember-
will contribute to the very meticulous and comprehensive study of Pierre-André
Taguieff on the different facets and variants of the text and the reactions
tions and uses and on Norman Cohn's brilliant analysis.

We would like to address three specific questions here, namely: the location
of encounter and its theological importance; the relationship to Truth
and finally the need for universalization and unity among the conspirators.

The Cemetery

We are referring here to the 1906 version of the Protocols.
by Georges V. Boutmi, who develops Serge Alexan-'s version
Drovich Nilus, notably incorporating the physical context which
indirectly derives from the pamphlet 'The Jews, Masters of the World',
published in St. Petersburg in 1872 and then in Moscow, which turns out to be a
a more or less faithful copy of the chapter: 'In the cemetery of
Prague' from the text by Sir John Retclifile (aka Hermann Gocdsche)
Biarritz.

What interests us here is the fact that the meeting takes place
in a cemetery. The cemetery is indeed a privileged and symbolic place.
bolic. In the Christian tradition, it belongs in an intrinsic way to
granted to the consecrated domain of the church. From the Middle Ages, the place

We are aware that the Protocols make no mention whatsoever of
Freemasons, but that doesn't change the fact that in the fantasies of their opponents, thi
The union of convenience, as we shall see, is active and unitary.

The burial site defines the deceased's status in the Otherworld.
whose soul is saved rests in the sacred enclosure whose name is
often revealing; the cemetery is an integral part of the building of
The church: the churchyard in English, De kerchhoff in Flemish. Those whose
the soul is lost, criminals, prostitutes or Jews will be buried in
outside the cemetery walls. A place therefore protected by the power
divine, which consecrates the earth, the cemetery can also become the pri-
vilified by which the Evil One, the Devil, tries to pervert the Christian
and to enter the sacred space.

A 13th-century text, L'Atre périlleux, suggests for the first
once in French literature that the Devil meets his servants

teurs in the cemeteries, in the shadow of the Church (if one can get away-
(This image should be used since the meetings are held at midnight).
Only the Devil can both desecrate a sacred place and reclaim it.
to wield magical power. Through the challenge to God contained in these consecrated texts.
In the liabules, the Devil engages in the struggle of Evil against Good and chooses
his battlefield.

We find it interesting that this symbolism is present from the outset.
Middle Ages, or revived in the 19th century in the context of a conspiracy
tion which, at first glance, appears to be purely political
and social. Consequently, we would like to emphasize that through this
appealing to the specific context of the nocturnal encounter, the text rat-
stain on the tradition of religious antisemitism with deep roots
and its imaginal vocabulary in medieval demology, such as ex-
asked by Joshua Trachtenberg. This seems important to us because the
text which claims to want to denounce a political secret meeting of eva-
lutation of appropriate tactics to impose domination of
"Gentils" directly implies, through physical contextualization, that
the aim goes beyond political supremacy to seek religious control
The magical and sacred world. The Jewish plutocracy and its power
conceal its goals, and the slavery it will attempt to impose will be linked to
"More gilded than physical." The aim is not to conquer the world
to bleed it dry, but rather to condemn its soul. War is not
Not political, but religious. In this sense, The Protocols are a pamphlet.

2? We will not revisit here the inconsistencies of the anti-Semitic attacks which
accuse Jewish banks of supporting left-wing, socialist- aims and parties
whether they are members of the Communist Party or communists, The Protocols remain an exc
it is up to the Jew to promote 'left-wing' social revolutions such as the right to
Universal suffrage and universal taxation.

religious man who calls for holy war against the infidel and the
Demon. The Arab countries that continue to spread the text are not
They are not mistaken, nor are the Christian Fundamentalists.
the United States, which argues that the existence of the state of Israel appears-
it is more about a religious interpretation of the world than about reality
geopolitics and that the struggle involves much more than 'a few acres'
sand'.

The link that exists between the Jews and Satan deserves attention.
che. Treat the former as mere obtuse and sim- servants
To say that the second-in-command pulls all the strings would be far too simplistic.
The Jews, who gave birth to Jesus, are not simply
executors but ingenious creators of Machiavellian plots.
This people chosen by God carried their message until the arrival of the
Messiah and, in this sense, participated in the word of Truth: he brought
the Decalogue. By rejecting the word of the true God, in its new form-

This special people, having voluntarily turned to Satan, seduced...
Didn't Satan really manipulate them just like he did Eve?
This constitutes a deliberate choice that is appropriate for theologians
to explain and to vilify. How, faced with the sermon of the true God,
Could the Jews have refused to convert?

But this goes further: the presence of the conspiracy confirms that
the joke posits the existence of the demon and allows for a Manichean vision
of the world. Evil is present, and God is absolved of his presence.
because Satan and his minions are working diligently to impose it.
The enemy has been identified. Moreover, it is easy to recognize him if one
wants to take the time to look. Just as the right appeared
God, the left is disastrous (in truth sinister) and belongs to the
Damn. This powerful taboo works in the psychology of the middle age
without having been completely expelled from our world. Now, Hebrew
Isn't it written from left to right? It thus reveals its dia- origin
bolic. We can logically conclude that all written knowledge
In the writing of the Devil, there can only be magic and sorcery.

In what could probably be described as a delusion
religious, some ardent anti-Semites would be ready to rename the
Devil (no pun intended) and to make him a Jew. In a world that

* The Jew can call upon him for his sorcery. It should therefore come as no surprise that all treatises on black magic are encoded in these illegible signs of the Talmud and of the Kabbalah, which contain the sacramental formulas of alchemy, of the poi- sounds, medicine, witchcraft, and astrology?

readily accepts a Manichaeism that theology denounces, the pos-
The possibility of dual membership facilitates this alternative. The Devil
is part of the Christian world and as such a gene because its power-
This is tolerated, from within, by the omnipotent God, which poses
Many questions arise. If, however, the possibility of expulsion opens up...
the Demon of belonging to the true religion, the coherence of the
struggle of good—Christian against evil—non-Christian and specifically
Jewish —is thereby strengthened.

The autonomous and active presence of Evil poses a problem pro-
The topic we would like to address now is:

The Truth

Did not Jesus say: 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life'? (John, XIV, 6).
While it is easy to admit that those who transmit his message
They do it imperfectly, which may explain their failure.

How can we accept that Jesus himself could not convince everyone?
those to whom he preached, and therefore, his message of Truth does not
Does it not inherently possess a power of evidence and conviction? In a way
Obviously, simply telling the truth is not enough to convince and to
convert.

This inconsistency, which theologians debate, raises, in our
From this perspective, an even more dangerous suspicion: the power of the
Untruth could be greater than truth. For it is indeed
This is what the fear of conspiracy implies: although based on
Lies and betrayal could prove more powerful.
that the Truth. That is the profound scandal of the situation: the Devil
could prevail over God. The Lie risks proving more
more powerful than Truth. Doubt therefore arises regarding the power of
Right at the very moment when the Church is asserting its obvious superiority.
The only way out is to assert that Evil only prevails when
Good is distracted, but only once the latter's will is clear-
If it is re-established, that one will be crushed.

This paradox underlies the entire controversy surrounding conspiracies because
The implicit assumption would be that once exposed to light, the
The conspiracy should disintegrate naturally. Its power does not originate from
that the inattention of the forces of truth, to reveal it, is the abomination.
The fact remains that he seems to persist in all the revelations. The idea
The underlying issue that must be maintained is therefore that the mystery and

Invisibility is the only guarantee of the conspiracy's viability.
The reasoning thus takes the form: what is hidden is dangerous.
They are evil and antichrist. Uncovering the conspiracy becomes an act of faith.
and must inevitably lead to its destruction. We will conclude from this
Moreover, the greater the danger, the more the truth is attacked.
essential. So the major conspiracy, the only one the Devil could
To truly be interested lies in the destruction of the Lord and
of Good. The slavery that the triumphant conspiracy will impose will be
as much moral as physical. In this sense, the fight against conspiracy-
tion becomes vital in the etymological sense.

The problem that obviously arises is that the Lord himself-
even tends to act in the shadows and through mysterious means: 'Were
'es Deus absconditus'. God seems to love mystery as much as Satan.
Therefore, it is necessary to counter the darkness of the active Devil with a
light that hides.

All of this leads us to consider the myth of the conspiracy
from an angle that in no way meets practical criteria, but
well, for emotional reasons. The conspiracy becomes an act of
the demon's seductive power that fascinates and amazes while simultaneously lulling one to
mistrust.

The appeal of conspiracy theories rests on certain
specific attractions. The conspiracy allows for a simplified reading of the
world. Just as God is the source of all knowledge, the conspiracy
becomes the all-encompassing explanation for all the world's effects.
a negative event or disturbance finds its place within a larger project
destructive. Even if the detail is not understandable, given the knowledge-
With the ultimate goal in mind, everything falls into place in the vast puzzle. Seen
the conspiracy's capacity for mystery, the effects of its power
can only be read in retrospect, while the consequences of its
actions are marked in the facts. In this movement of sim-
In this way, the world is read in black and white and allows everything to be classified.
Each in their own clan or its opposite. There are only two
clans and they are engaged in a fight to the death.

The advantage of the presence of a conspiracy is that it offers, by invert-
sion a combat strategy and arguments. Since the conspiracy-
Ration derives its power from its secrecy and clandestine operations.
the struggle will have to follow two parallel paths: on the one hand, revealing the cons-
aspiration and its means of action in broad daylight, and on the other hand,
to reproduce its effective action by borrowing its methods either by
creating secret societies, guardians of the world of Good. At the

Synagogue and Masonic structure, we will contrast the hierarchy and the
discipline of Opus Dei. The ferocity of the SS troops was only supposed to
to reproduce and counteract Jewish ferocity and bestiality.

But the main appeal of conspiracy theory lies in its
The ability to allow for a clear and logical reading of the story. A
Once the key is found, the story, which seems to be rocked by local chance, unfolds.
and immediate suddenly finds itself in a rigid development and
consistent with the seizure of power through conspiracy. Of course, even
if all readings affirm that the control of events by
The conspiracy allows us to understand the evolution of the world which
It therefore appears predestined; these readings, therefore, can never be anything but
proving their case only after the fact. The birth of the State of Israel, by
for example, which was supposedly the ultimate (and temporary) goal of the cons-
piration could not confirm the interpretation of the goals of the conspiracy of
Prague rabbis only after 1948.

But it is easy to understand why the Jews cannot do
other than giving in to Satan's allure and serving him, one can
to ask about the other conspirators and, more specifically-
Freemasons' lies

The Judeo-Masonic Conspiracy

It is known that in the earliest texts reporting the presence of a
global conspiracy seeking to conquer the world in the modern-
nity, that is to say, at the time of the Revolution, in the writings of the Abbé
Barruel' gives the Freemasons the essential role." But very quickly
The Jews come to the rescue and join the conspiracy and in
take control."

It is worth asking why the Jews find it necessary-
methods of manipulating Freemasons and what advantages this offers
Do they have to participate in the company?

Around 1797, Abbé Barruel wrote his Memoir to serve as a history of Acobinism.
which explains the French Revolution and the fall of the monarchy through the actions of t
Freemasons' ground.

5 We will not refer to previous conspiracy theories—such as
that of the Templars—which respond to other basic data.

6 In a letter to Barruel from 1806, Simonini outlines the close collaboration
between Jews and Freemasons. Barruel enthusiastically took up the idea and his students di
they no longer question this postulated union and attempts at proof are extremely
rare moments.

One of the obvious advantages for Jews in allying themselves with the Freemasons
lies in the fact that they are Christians (even if they deserve
excommunication if discovered) and therefore can move in
the Christian society without attracting attention or suspicion. But he
You have to pay the price. Why does the Devil agree to share his
Taking sides with followers of the true God? To ally oneself with Christians means
that the defeat and enslavement of the Christians cannot be comp-
complete. Or is it a ruse of war, and once the victory
Once the victory is won, these temporary allies will be brought back down to earth.
defeated? Because we know, there's never any question of converting these
allies (insofar as they desire it, which is never immediate)
(what). The Jews do not share their power. Is this therefore a
a temporary and circumstantial alliance where Freemasons become
To be fooled like children?

Conversely, why do Freemasons consider it useful to
to ally themselves with those Jews who, even if they control the bank, do not remain
less deicides (we refer here to the presentations on Voltaire of
this colloquium) and the objects of a racial hatred integral to their education
Christian cation? Are we to believe that Freemasons are so naive?
that they let themselves be completely fooled and led by the nose, them
who have a tradition of conspiracy that dates back at least to the
False dissolution of the Order of the Templars? Furthermore, the Franks-

Are Freemasons still insensitive to the religious and magical aspects of
A conspiracy? Don't they know that the Devil himself is helping?
the Jews who keep, without sharing, their treatises on magic in a
Illegible and incomprehensible language?

This amalgamation should probably be seen as the work of enemies of the
True religion, more than just a fantasy. This follows a logic of
the polarization of Good and Evil. All enemies must find themselves
to be in the same camp (therefore, to unite them) because this conforms to
the Manichean perception of the world. A third way is imposed
possible. The desire for unification becomes the projection of other fantasies.
My inverted ones. Just as the papacy claims to be Catholic, that is to say
universal, it maintains the will to conquer the enemy as

7 This naivety could represent their only path to salvation (for Catholics)
who might try to find an explanation for their confusion) because, as
that, as Christians, they would then become forgivable for having allowed themselves to be
the words of the Jewish tempters.

universal. Unable to define the enemy's power, it imagines it-
The gin as absolute, uniting all stratagems and weapons. The
the enemy's natural perfidy, his underhanded tactics pre-established
that they must unite even if the mutual benefits are not
not obvious from the outside.

The fight must be total because the danger is deadly. It is not appropriate
So there's no need to go into detail, just rely on the principle:
'Whoever is not with me is against me!'

THE THEME OF THE JUDEO-MASONIC CONSPIRACY IN THE FRENCH NOVEL (1870-1900)

Jacques-Charles Lemaire

As we know, it was Augustin Barruel, a Jesuit priest, who emigrated!
In England, who is responsible for the origin of the theme of the Masonic conspiracy?
"Nique," deemed responsible for the French Revolution and its repressions
criminal acts that were carried out in his name. Whatever has been said to
his subject and whatever the success of his theses during the 19th
and 20th centuries, this herald of anti-Masonry (which primarily targets the
(the political ambitions of the Bavarian Illuminati) cannot in any way be
held responsible for the theory proposing a conjunction between
the actions wrongly attributed to Freemasonry against the State
and religion and the traditional accusations made against the Jews

with regard to Christians.

The idea of associating the Jew with the Freemason, considered to be
allies in carrying out a common work of destruction,
comes to light at the dawn of the 19th century, in the letter that a certain Simonini
address in 1806 to Barruel to encourage his correspondent to include
a certain Jewish responsibility in the destruction of the monarchy
Shit and Catholicism. Probably made in the workshops
the empire's secret services in order to thwart the establishment
of the Sanhedrin of September 1806, intended to settle in their favor the
This epistle, considering the situation of citizens of the Jewish faith,
like a forgery by the most competent historians, has not

It should be remembered that the Society of Jesus is forbidden by the Holy See.
entrenl/rS retail

2 See on this subject Jacques Lemaire, The French origins of anti-masonry (1744-1797),
University Press, Brussels, 1985, (collection 'Studies on the 17th Century', volume
special issue no. 2), pp. 18-33.

On this important political event intended to bring citizens of faith-
Israelite Zion, better recognition within the State, see Patrick Girard, The Jews
in France from 1789 to 1860. From emancipation to equality, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1976, pp.
70-86.

4 Cf. Pierre-André Taguieff, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Berg International,
Paris, 1992, vol. I, p. 156 and Norman Cohn, History of a Myth: The Jewish 'Conspiracy' ar
The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Gallimard, Paris, 1967, pp. 31-33.

convinced Barruel, who never gave any credence to the myth of the com-
Judeo-Masonic plot."

A little later, in 1815, a pamphlet entitled The New appeared.
Judaism or Freemasonry Unveiled, which repeats the accusation of com-
complicity contained in Simonini's letter and denounces collusion
A Jewish-Masonic agenda to overthrow religion and royalty. This work,
which contains incisive remarks,' was only printed to a very small audience-
a small number of copies and, not having achieved wide distribution, did not receive
than a very limited audience.

It was not until 1869 and the publication of the book Le fu, le judaïsme et
the Judaization of Christian peoples by Henri Gougenot des Mousseaux for
to see conspiracy theories regain strength and vigor. In
In this massive and indigestible work, the author devotes a few pages to
to demonstrate that the triumph of modern ideas corresponds to the vic-
the history of the Jews on other systems of thought and that the Synagogue
seized control of Masonic secrets to achieve its goals.

conceives of the Lodge as the principal and indispensable ally of the Jews in the struggle that the children of Israel have waged ancestrally against the Christians. The political ambitions to which Simonini referred. This gives way to more religious motivations and the links between Jews and Brethren are no longer regarded as a temporary alliance of interests between 'sects', but as a permanent subordination from second to first.

From that moment on, the ecclesiastical authorities first, and

∗ According to Father Grivel, Barruel wrote a long memorandum on the subject of influence Hebrew on Freemason lodges during the Revolution, but he would have destroyed this document two days before his death. (Cf. Le Contemporain, July 1878, p102)

The following year, a pamphlet by Johann Christian was published in Germany. Ehrmann (Das Judentum in der M{aurer)y: eine Warnung an alle deutschen Loge) which was blit the same influence of the Jews on the Freemasons and thus proves that the idea of a Such subjugation is very much in keeping with the spirit of the times. Cf. Luc Nefontaine Schreiber, Fudaism and Freemasonry: History of a Fraternity, Albin Michel, Paris, 2000. D 62

7 For example, we read: 'And have we not seen it [the Jewish sect] and not Do we not yet see him lavishing his gold and silver, to support and multiply The modern sophists, the Freemasons, the Jacobins, the Illuminati? The Jews, then? together with all the other sectarians they form a single faction, to annihilate, if it is possibly, the Christian name' (cf. The New Judaism or Freemasonry Unveiled, cited by N. Cohn, History of a Myth: The Jewish 'Conspiracy' and the Protocols of the Elders of pl)

∗ Cf. Henri Gougenot des Mousseaux, The Jew, Judaism and the Judaization of the Peu- Christian peoples, Plon, Paris, 1869, p. 347.

a host of pamphlets of all origins and all kinds followed, will take up the theme of conspiracy based on conjuncture- spiritual development of the lodges and of Judaism by developing it and in refining. Already in his encyclical Ets multa (of November 1873), Pius IX denounces the aims of the 'Synagogue of Satan', remarks repeated and amplified by Leo XIII in Humanum genus.' From these writings that carry considerable authority, the Catholic thinkers will further emphasize the theme of Judeo-Masonic collusion. The conspiracy theory is structured around three levels and is established, Roughly speaking, in three phases. The first stage only reveals a sim- close complicity between Jews and Freemasons to thwart the ambitions their common enemies: the Christian religion and the institution monarchical or imperial. Freemasonry, seen as the heir 'sects' hostile to Catholicism, among which are

Judaism and Protestantism are only supposed to exert political influence:
This activity, while certainly harmful, comes at just the right time to explain
the occurrence of unexpected events (the revolutions of 1789 or
of 1848) by minds incapable of representing the evolution of
world and mentalities other than as a result of du-
underground and subterranean. With the exception of Simonini's letter or the
treatise by Nicolas Deschamps and Claudio Jannet, or even books
later on the influence of the Anglo-Saxon spirit of the Reformation in
the lodges, like the scholarly works of Bernard Faÿ'* or the libels
more controversial than Dom Paul Benoît'' or Louis Marthin-Chagny's?
This category only concerns a very small number of works.

This pope was greatly influenced by the theories of Gougenot des Mousseaux. Cf.
Johannés Rogalla von Bieberstein, Die These von der Verschwôrung (1776-1945). Plalosophen,
Freimaurer, fuden, Liberale und Sozialisten als Verschwvorer gegen die Sozialordnung, Pete
Frankfurt, 1978, p. 193.

10 Cf. Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire, Rome and the Freemasons. History of a Conflict, Berg
International, Paris, 1996, p. 113. The expression 'Synagogue of Satan' was inaugurated
directed by François-Xavier Gautrelet (see La Franc-Magnonnerie et la Révolution, Briday,
Lyon, 1872, p. 452). |

See Hervé Hasquin, 'Freemasonry and Politics. On the Fantasy of
'Judeo-Masonic conspiracy', in La Pensée et les Hommes, no. 23, 1993, p. 12.

2 Cf. Nicolas Deschamps and Claudio Jannet, Secret Societies and Society, Séguin-
Oudin, Avignon-Paris, 1880-1883.

5 Cf. Bernard Faÿ, La Frenc-Alaçonnere et la révolution intellectuelle du XVIIe siècle,
La Librairie française, Paris, 1961.

1# Cf. Dom Paul Benoit, The Anti-Christian City in the 19th Century. II. The Freemason,
Delhomme and Briguet, Paris-Lyon, 1894.

5 Cf. Louis Marthin-Chagny, L'Angleterre suzeraine de la France par la Franc-Magçonne,
Chamuel, Paris, 1896.

On the other hand, from the moment the theory of Jewish domination
The world is becoming clearer, particularly following the publication
by Joseph Lémann, a Jew converted to Catholicism and ordained a priest,
of several works on the theme of 'Jewish preponderance' on
The universe, the accusations become more specific and change in nature: the Jews
are no longer seen as mere allies of the Freemasons, or their com-
accomplices, but the instigators of their disastrous actions. The abbot
Lémann believes not only that the lodges of Paris dispensed
slogans to the members of the National Assembly with a view to the allocation of
granting French citizenship to Jews, but he also claims

that the Masonic Order, 'a confluence of betrayals', opens wide
the gates of his Temples to the Israelites, who ensure their dominion there-
spiritual nation and pursue an overall plan of destruction there
tion of Christian society." In a very short period of time, the
David's descendants are accused of ruling over the 'back rooms'
(the expression constitutes an undeniable legacy of the Memoirs to serve-
(See Barruel's history of Jacobinism), unknown to Freemasons
ordinary, with a view to ruining Christianity or political equivocation
nations. They mostly invest in the higher initiatory councils-
members of the so-called 'high Freemasonry', so much so that the franc-
Freemasonry appears to some as a doubly secret society,
'secret to the profane world, but also to almost everyone'
of his followers.'

In a third stage, the Freemasons, secretly spurred on
by their damned souls, are considered the instruments of invo-
lentaires of the establishment of a 'world Jewish government', inspired
by Satan himself for the purpose of his general domination over the uni-
towards, which the Protocols would particularly confirm at the end of the century
of the Elders of Zion, of sinister memory." The theme of democratic influence-
maque owes much to papal encyclicals, relayed by the

1 Cf. Jewish Preponderance. Part One: Its Origins (1789-1791) according to
New documents, V. Lecoffre, Paris, 1889; The entry of the Israelites into French society
Casa and the Christian States according to new documents, V. Lecoffre, Paris, 1886 and
Napoleon [7 and the Israelites. Jewish preponderance. Part Two: its organization]
(1806-1815), V. Lecoffre, Paris, 1894.

7 Cf. Abbé Joseph Lémann, The Entry of the Israelites into French Society and the States
Christians according to new documents, pp. 336-351.

8 Cf. Victor Deschamps, Freemasonry. Its character, its organization, its extension
sion, its Sources, its tributaries, its purpose and its secrets, Casterman, Tournai, 1863,

® Cf Pierre-André Taguieff, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, vol. 1, pp. 29-34.

bestseller by Madame de Ségur and by the pamphlets of the famous Léo Taxil,
who wanted to take advantage of Catholic credulity by inventing all-
your pieces the legend of Palladism and by lending credence to the idea that the
The devil appeared in secret lodges to dictate his orders.
to those in the know, but whose phenomenal deception was approved with
A baffling blindness.

In a very short time, 'ideological poisoning has become widespread',
according to Marc Angenot's happy expression.?!' A crowd of publications
cations of all origins and styles appeared between 1870 and

1900 to illustrate, sometimes in a polemical, sometimes scholarly way, this
A three-part theory. Feeling supported by papal power
who seem to forget all restraint on these matters, the Riva- publicists
read decisive 'confidences' or decisive 'evidence'.

But writers are not to be outdone. Two novelists,
In particular, they are notable for their virulence. In 1888, Florent
Bouhours publishes "The Freemason of the Virgin," a typical specimen
"Cafeteria readings" which mainly contain anti-
Masonic. Two years later, Abbé Desportes joined forces with Le Juge.
Freemason. Contemporary novel" in the most blatant anti-Semitism.
These two stories, largely forgotten today—and even difficult to access
of which Pierre Pierrard gave a succinct analysis," deserve a
Careful examination: they exemplify the ideological delusion-
logic to which the conjunction of anti-Masonry and Pantisemi-
"isms could have given rise in the last quarter of the 19th century."

2. Jacques Lemaire, Anti-Masonry: General Aspects (1738-1998), Éditions
masonic of France, Paris, 1998, pp. 63-75 and Eugen Weber, Satan the Freemason.
The Mystification of Léo Taxil, Julliard, Paris, 1964.

2 Cf. Marc Angenot, 'What was said about the Jews in 1889. Anti-Semitism and dis-
"social course", in CIEE/ICES Research Papers, No. 6, Interuniversity Centre
European studies, Montreal, 1984, p. 8.

2 Cf. Florent Bouhours, The Freemason of the Virgin, Maison de la Bonne Presse,
Paris, 1688252 p:

% This appealing formula is from Pierre Pierrard, French Jews and Catholics.
From Édouard Drumont to Jacob Kaplan 1886-1994, Éd. du Cerf, Paris, 1997, p. 108.

Cf. Abbé Henri Desportes, The Freemason Jew: A Contemporary Novel, Delhomme and
Briguet, Paris, 1890, 291 p.

5 Cf. Pierre Pierrard, French Jews and Catholics, pp. 108-111.

% Two novels from the period—The Monach by Robert de Bonnières, Ollendorf,
Paris, 1885, 328 p. and The Hunt for the Jews. History of Yesterday and Today by Michel
Delines, Dupret, Paris, 1887, 314 p.—do not subscribe to the myth of the Judeo-
Masonic and focus primarily on describing social customs in Jewish (French) circles.
(French at Bonnières, Russian at Delines), without descending into virulent anti-Semitism.

Florent Bouhours, whose biography is little known," belongs
to the Assumptionist circles, which distinguished themselves at the end of the 19th centur
century by very radical positions against Judaism and Freemasonry
masonry. # [He probably does not share high responsibilities]
in the direction of the publishing house on rue François I", which distributes the

newspaper La Croix and presides over the destinies of books published under the guarantee of 'Good Press', but collaborates in the joint venture and embraces the prejudices of this morally and politely religious milieu Tickly conservative.

It is in what is now the Nord department, on the maritime border. of France and Belgium, where he sets the action of his novel, a authentic panegyric of Marian devotion and miraculous powers culeux of the Virgin. At the beginning of the narrative, precisely dated In November 1884, the novelist immerses us in the tene- descendants of a Christian family, devastated by the adherence of one of its members of Freemasonry. The master of the house, Joseph Burgemeester, a 72-year-old retired officer, is suffering from cancer. throat pain; his wife has been in a state of mental derangement since that she learned that her son Joseph had joined a Masonic lodge that. The only element deemed 'healthy' in this lineage was the daughter Gabrielle, who spends his days in prayer and devotion to Mary to obtain that Jesus' mother snatches her brother from the clutches of the abhorred sect and who expressed the wish to enter the Congregation of the Daughters of the Charity if her request is granted. It is she who does it for her father. reading articles from La Semaine religieuse, a clerical bulletin where are pre- The realities of Freemasonry are depicted in a tense, serialized style. niques. We learn there—a theme dear to the pamphlets of the time hostile to Freemasonry—that the Order is divided into two categories of Members: passive members, who are not required to pay of membership fees and who do not ordinarily attend the Workshops, and active members, mostly urban Freemasons, who contribute to the development of the Lodge through their financial contributions and

7 The General Catalogue of Printed Books of the National Library (vol. XVII, p. 257) lists another work by this author: it is the book entitled The Three Norse Virgins res of Equatorial Africa (189 pages), published in 1891 under the aegis of the publishing tion belonging to the congregation founded in 1850 by Father Emmanuel d'Alzon under the name 'Augustins of the Assumption'.

Cf. Pierre Sorlin, 'La Croix' and the fugitives (1880-1899). Contribution to the history Contemporary anhismatism, B. Grasset, Paris, 1967, pp. 196-209.

through their participation in the work, from which the following are recruited affiliated with the legislative and executive committees, governed by a 'patriarch', sole leader of the universal association. In everyday life, The imitators are supposed to belong to two distinct groups: one peaceful, which dominates public opinion through the press and occupies the public squares those enviable figures in the State and in the University; the other warrior, who foment revolutions and is ruled by the Jews.

The sources from which Florent Bouhours obtains this information

absurdities can easily be guessed: not only does he cite express-
sis verbis the works of Eduard Emil Eckert, which he undoubtedly
read in the translation made in 1859 by the Liège abbot Jean-
Guillaume Gyr,"® and Freemasons, what they are, what they do, what they
want" from M. Louis de Ségur,"? eldest son of the famous countess
Rospotchin; but the allusions he makes concerning the revolutionary activities-
the revolutionaries of a Freemason considered to be Jewish, like Adam Weishaupt
They are probably inspired by his knowledge of the treaties of
Abbot Joseph Lémann* or CC of Saint-André, pseudonym
"by Abbot EA Chabauty," which are the only works from his time

In particular the book entitled Der Freimaurer-Orden in seiner wahren Bedeutung, publish
in Dresden in 1852.

0 Cf. J.-G. Gyr, Freemasonry in itself and in its relations with others
secret societies of Europe, notably the Italian Carbonari, Lardinois-Lethielleux,
Liège-Paris, 1859.

This work, published in 1867 and which has seen multiple re-editions (more than
one hundred and twenty thousand copies will be sold), likens Freemasonry to the work of
Satan and describes it as a hierarchical society of lodges and back rooms, which
'exploit the nobles, the rich and the princes', but establishes no link between it
and the Jews. Cf. Émile Poulat and Jean-Pierre Laurant, Catholic Anti-Masonry. The
Freemasons by Mgr de Ségur, Berg International, Paris, 1994, pp. 14 and 66-68.

Appointed embassy attaché in 1842, Louis de Sécr entered the seminary and
He became a priest in 1847. Struck blind in 1855, he was appointed protonotary apostolic
tolic by Pius IX and henceforth devoted his time to writing works of protocol
religious paganism. Freemasons are part of the context of the 'question
'Roman' and the disappearance of the Papal States as a temporal power sub-
veraine. Cf. É. Poulat and J.-P. Laurant, Catholic anti-masonry, pp. 121-127.

% Cf. The Entry of the Israelites into Society: Sançaise and the Christian States, Paris,
1886, p. 351. This essay, which denounces Protestantism and Satanism as instigators
of Freemasonry, owes much to the theories of Gougenot des Mousseaux
(cf. p. 489) as well as to the encyclical letters of Pius IX, notably Quanta Cura of
December 8, 1864 (see pp. 707 and 716).

%# Cf. Freemasons and Jews. Sixth Age of the Church according to the Apocalypse, General S
Catholic booksellers' directory, Paris-Brussels-Geneva, 1880, p. 243.

Priest of Mirebeau-en-Porntou, regular contributor to La Po 1885,
Chabauty is one of the first pamphlet authors to have defended the thesis of a
collusion between Jews and Freemasons, a dogmatic position that earned him a

to draw parallels between the theories of the Bavarian enlightened one and the events
revolutionary events of the year 1848.

While the Burgemeester family languishes in anticipation of the
the return of the godless son, an event comes at just the right time for pro-
to evoke an evolution of the action: a naval captain appointed
Édouard Barchard, caught in a storm, happened to pass by
not far from the retired officer's house and asks him lhos-
pity. During the conversation with his hosts, Barchard their
learns that he owes his life to Joseph Burgemeester, who saves him
two months earlier, a drowning at the Bilbao bar, in territory
from Spain. Double surprise in this very Christian fover: 1l knows main-
wondering where to find this son he thought he had lost, but is astonished by the
vigorous nobility of his conduct. For 'the true Freemason
is cowardly' (p. 29).

The story continues with a flashback. In August
1870, the young Joseph, who had just received his baccalaureate and who had written
a sonnet in honor of Saint Mary, engages in Farmee for
to fight Germany. When he left for the war, Gabrielle...
He offers a medal of the Virgin Mary and invites his brother to pray to the mother
of God daily. After his religious instruction to Philippe-
In the town near Constantine, the young hero returns to Lille and shows
all the attachments of the good soldier to the Republic. In beginning-
To be quiet, Bouhours clarifies bluntly:

[...] this word suddenly appeared with a deceptive mirage of ven-
gentry, glory and prosperity, like the ultimate in patriotism
victorious ism. (p. 43)

In a letter he wrote to his parents, the young man revealed
and, much to the dismay of his family, accuses the Jesuits of ultramontanism.
as the cause of France's defeats and welcomes the advent-
the state of the Republic.

During his military service, he became friends with Raoul
Pluvier, son of a winegrower from the South, associated with a Jew named Wackei-

a letter of congratulations from twenty bishops. His antisemitism took on the form of
forms so virulent that he founded in 1882, in Montdidier (a small town where no one lived
no person of Jewish faith...), the first anti-Catholic newspaper
mite, entitled Anti-Semitism: The Jew, That's the Enemy!, a publication which takes the ti
Peri-social in May 1884. Cf. P. Sorlin, 'La Croix' and the Jews (1880-1899), pp. 192-193
and P. Pierrard, French Jews and Catholics, p. 28.

"ster," Venerable Master of the local lodge. The portrait that the author paints of

This character exudes no sympathy, but obeys all
canons in use in the anti-Semitic literature of the time:

The man Raoul called Wackeister was a man of about forty-
ten years old. A long black beard framed his bony face,
harsh, illuminated by two deep, black, slightly shifty, wicked eyes,
and in which it was impossible to read the feelings of his soul,
As dark, no doubt, as his face! This man, of Jewish origin
German, had become a naturalized French citizen. (p. 53)

Without him suspecting a thing, Joseph Burgemeester is
outmaneuvered by the Pluvier family, described in terms that would not have
Barruel not disowned:

The family into which Joseph was to be introduced was a family
devoted body and soul to the Revolution, which she served by all means
in his power. His motive was hatred, blind, implacable hatred.
innate; its goal, the ruin of religion; the means it employed,
Hypocrisy, betrayals, crime. She obeyed orders that...
they came through the intermediary of the Jew Wackeister, she didn't know where from, the
a Jew receiving them himself from another, no less ignorant, character

than him (pp. 59-60).

In fact, inspired by the Jew Wackeister, the Pluvier family has a mission
to affiliate Joseph with Freemasonry. They will take advantage of the refusal
notified by a captain to grant the young soldier a rank which he
hoped (because of the religious education he received) for linci-
to enter the Order. It is Wackeister who is called upon to remove
the reluctance of the prospective applicant and to define the goals of the action
masonic:

Freemasonry wants the poor as well as the rich to participate
come to jobs, ranks, honors, and dignities. Yes, she
swore hatred to the ultramontane, intransigent, intolerant spirit, which has
jobs, ranks, honors and dignities than for his supporters
the richest, whatever their moral worth may be. (p. 73)

Very quickly, the objections raised by Burgemcester and the hesitations...
The obstacles that hinder him are smoothed out, due to the successes that his membership
promises him:

Is it a coincidence that this character's name seems to relate to anti-

phrase from the family of the German adverb wacker which means 'courageously, bravely"?

There is nothing in Freemasonry that could offend her [the Virgin Mary]. since this Order only combats prejudices and superstitions, ridiculous excesses of a misunderstood religion, and which he makes with regard to its members work for justice, charity and equality, by opening To all, the path to fortune and well-being! (p. 75)

The vision that Florent Bouhours develops regarding the Masonic Order- This reflects the mindset of many of his contemporaries: Seen as the implacable enemy of religion, the Lodge is also supposedly offering its affiliates facilities or special privileges that drain Towards her go the opportunists or those disillusioned with life. Also, in Hoping for a promotion, the story's hero agrees to become to receive a Freemason. The author does not indulge in a detailed description. of the ceremony and explains it, briefly mentioning in passing the descriptions contained in what we previously called the 'works of revelation', often written by Freemasons themselves same.

We will not go into all the details of an initiation here. These Deliberate absurdities, but without any convincing reason, have been recounted. sometimes, and most recently by Freemasons, more or less converted less sincere, who seem to have been more interested in ridiculing juggling acts that are completely harmless in themselves for the plurality of readers, than to humbly confess in broad daylight the wickedness of those who gave them orders and the very content of those orders, still serving Freemasonry, while having the art of the to denigrate through confessions whose harmlessness is obvious, palpable. (p. 80)

Unlike other commentators, he does not judge the actions. initiatory practices such as manifestations of Satanism, but attempts more- early on, they were ridiculed, being called jugglers, a pejorative term. tif, no doubt, but quite moderate, that Emperor Joseph IT had used in another era and in other circumstances, to mock

7 CL J. Lemaire, Les ongines françaises de lantimaçenmnisme (17447 1707). PP: 5944

CHRIECS early forms of anti-Masonry in France: the works of revelation- tion (1738-1751), in Les courants antimaçonniques hier et agjurd'hui, Éd. de FUniversité, Brussels, 1993, pp. 11-23.

PA, the time when Bouhours was composing his novel, the revelatory writings of Leo Taxil is starting to spread among the general public. This is undoubtedly due to this a notorious genius of deception, expelled from his lodge in 1882, whom the author dismisse implicitly (cf. E. Weber, Satan freemason. The mystfication of Léo Taxil, pp. 200–207), but perhaps also to Satan and Co. Universal Association for the Destruction of Order social by Paul Rosen (published by Casterman in Tournai in 1888).

gently introducing the practices common to followers." The only exaggerated- the ration that Bouhours allows himself in his description concerns the ser- the Apprentice's commentary and the Venerable Master's commentary from the lodge which is attributed these biased words and all to actions contrary to Masonic philosophy: 'any profane person who becomes receiving mason ceases to belong to himself' (p. 82).

The day after his initiation, Joseph was appointed quartermaster cadet. He immediately wrote to his parents to announce his entry into a 'charitable association whose members are all in solidarity' among themselves, they protect each other, recommend each other, and help each other. ment' (p. 85), despite the solemnly uttered warnings by MS de Ségur, "which he is not unaware of. But, while our hero suffered poisoning at the hands of his new friends, the letter intended for his family is counterfeited by Wackeiïster, aided by a certain Brown, and contains opinions that the letter writer did not mention. originally, in particular, criticisms of Catholic education the knowledge that was imparted to him in his family and at school.

Upon reading this letter, Joseph's mother suddenly loses the reason, while the father implores his son to return home and he carefully keeps the disconcerting letter, which he files away in a discreet cache with the sonnet dedicated to Marie.

Back at the barracks and determined to study the history of Freemasonry- nerie, 'trunk of that dead tree called revolution' (p. 106), Burgemeester's son is feeling the effects of poisoning which has was deliberately provoked by her accomplices. In the first He was hospitalized for a time, then allowed to continue his recovery. at the Pluvier's. While his comrades-in-arms leave for the command- bat, his Venerable Wackeister dissuades him from following them and assures him that his brothers will provide for his future. The answer that his father The letter addressed to him was diverted by accomplices Brown and Wackeister. and the terms are profoundly altered:∗"John the Baptist is supposed to curse his child and henceforth forbid him from entering the doors of his home.

% Cf. J. Lemaire, 'Vienna and Austria in Belgian Freemasonry at the end of the 18th century", in Mozart: The Paths of Europe. Proceedings of the Strasbourg Congre 14–16 October 1991, published under the direction of Brigitte Massin, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1997, p. 267. |

4 See É. Poulat and J.-P. Laurant, Catholic antimasonism, pp. 100-102.

#1 To justify his depravity, Wackeister does not hesitate to proclaim: 'For us,
"Masons, the end justifies the means" (p. 117).

Upon receiving this fake message, Joseph begins to think that a
A chasm has opened up between him and his family. Now, he testifies.
He places complete trust in his new friends and allows himself to be bribed by them.
and, while the war raged, took up the military profession in horror-
reur. He even goes so far as to leave the army and embrace convi-
socialist actions, while still keeping the scapular of
the Virgin Mary.

Having become a traveling salesman for the wine merchants Pluvier and
Renamed with the more southern-sounding name of Marius Azaïs, he approaches the
provincial stores, while also transmitting Masonic mail.
His commercial mission is coupled with a more discreet role: he received
the order to discredit the priests, to show the drawbacks of the
religion and to spread the liberal pamphlets which are given to it.
He accomplishes his task as best he can, while remaining faithful to the
a memory of the Virgin Mary and even taking one on an occasion
the defense of a priest, mocked by neighbors in a compartment
by train. Unbeknownst to him, his fellow travelers
are Freemasons, were tasked with testing his convictions and rap-
they bring to Wackeister the attitude of his protégé. Not without perfidy, the
Venerable congratulates Joseph on his duplicity, but reproaches him for
not to send him detailed reports on the clergy
that he was able to meet.

One day, the young man, who now smokes cigars and fri-
He regularly visits cafes, and out of curiosity, he opens a restaurant that he...
tasked with transmitting the information, he learns that he has been dismissed from his po
ploi. After meeting a priest on the way who speaks to him with
fervor of the Lille region and which protests against all the re-
commercial entities 'that harm religion' (p. 155),
Burgemeester believes he must save his soul and reconnect with the
religion. He confided his intentions to his brothers Raoul Pluvier and
Wackeister, but they try to divert him from his project by
claiming that the letter he had duly read was a forgery
intended to verify his loyalty and his 'Masonic faith' (p. 158). As a pledge
Because of his loyalty to the Order, they ordered him to trample underfoot the

© The portrait of this pastor contrasts sharply with the physical description of Wackeiste
Bouhours specifies: 'Thick white hair crowned her head and framed
her face, at once smiling, serious and gentle, illuminated by two lim- blue eyes
pides, where frankness, courage, and resolve could be read.' (p. 152)

medal which he continues to wear and to decapitate a statuette of
Our Lady of Lourdes. Joseph/Marius gets angry, slaps the Jew and,
miraculously escaping the dagger blow that his Venerable One had given him
he carries the door, spits in his face and runs away, carrying the statuette and the
wreckage of the weapon. From now on, Freemasonry appears to him with
all his 'hypocrisy and wickedness' (p. 174).

The rest of the story takes the hero to Toulouse, where he is wounded.
by anticlerics and cared for by a nun, a figure of self-
sublime gation and superhuman devotion' (p. 181), then to Lourdes
where, not far from the place of the apparition, he confesses and receives absolution
lution, then again in Bilbao, in search of a young violinist from
streets, Antonio Pepita, whom I once encountered in the streets of Lille and who
performed a song about the Black Hand, a Spanish association
close to Freemasonry.

He finds the musician he once glimpsed in a pitiful state: the franks-
The masons disfigured and crippled him. So, Marius, who had become
Joseph—takes Antonio and the young Spaniard's mother under his protection—
protection, renovates their house and buys back the vineyards that their destitution
had forced them to sell. He also learns with sadness that the
Antonio's brother, Hermann, joined the Black Hand and left
for France and was shot with the insurgents of the Commune.
Burgemeester now leads an exemplary life, saves Edward
Barchard survives the drowning and becomes once again a 'devout servant of Mary',
a practicing Christian, simple in his habits, pure in morals,
accurate and dedicated to his professional duties, sober and frugal
(Pb):

The novel's denouement is near: Joseph encounters few
time after Captain Barchard. He receives correspondence from him
doctored, which had been sent to his family, and understands that he was
the toy of the Freemasons, of the cowards, 'unless it is necessary to strike-
"per in the shadows and from behind" (p. 220). He decides to return to
France. Wackeister travels on the same ship and falls overboard.
and drowns, as punishment for the sacrileges committed against the statue of the
Virgin. Arriving in Dunkirk on December 6, 1884, Joseph reconnected with
his family and performs miracles: his mother regains her sanity when
She sees him receive communion and, fulfilling her promise, her sister enters
in the orders. As for him, he places the statuette of the Virgin on
the family fireplace.

On the development of Marian devotion at the time the novel was published, see RP

Beyond its apologetic intentions and fabulous episodes
or improbable things it contains, The Freemason of the Virgin party-
more from the anti-Masonic literary vein than from ideology
anti-Semitic. The character of the Jew Wackeister, invested with responsibility-
acts within his lodge, driven by his anticlerical motivations
wedges rather than out of a desire to impose some 'Jewish domination'
on society. While its features are reminiscent of traditional caricatures
Jews at the end of the 19th century (as opposed to the 'noble' figure
of a 'good priest'), his schemes and betrayals are perpetrated
in the name of the designs or calculations commonly assigned to the mem-
lodges are dominated by conservative Catholic literature. These are
Therefore, the Freemasons who suffer from the most frank admonition-
tion in the novel: they are portrayed as beings without morals
(or who cross all barriers), opportunistic (and inclined
to compromise themselves to get a job), cowards (when they avoid-
tempted to participate in the defense of the country), perverse (by the system of
the correspondence they establish in secret and the harmful influences
that they spread throughout the social body), sacrilegious (they profane the symbols
religious figures) and ready for any abomination for the triumph
of their ideas. According to Bouhours, these unspeakable behaviors reflect-
felt above all on an attachment to republican interests and the ideal
socialist, based on an implacable hatred of the Christian religion and of
its clerical representatives.

Conversely, The Freemason Jew. A contemporary novel by Henri Fabbé
Desportes prioritizes the antisemitic element in the world of literature
anti-Masonic. Before publishing his story, Desportes had
already known as a radically anti-clerical member
island to Judaism. Initially exercising his ministry in
In Normandy, he had distinguished himself by opinions tinged with anti-Semitism.
fierce slur, to the point of having received a reprimand from his bishop-
that (MF Thomas, Archbishop of Rouen) and having been deprived of his
treatment by the prefect of his department, a certain Hendlé,
known for his ties to Judaism, Édouard Drumont was interested
then he takes this 'little priest' under his protection and promotes the

Édouard Lecanuet, The Church of France under the Third Republic. The life of the Church ur
Léon XIII, F. Alcan, Paris, 1930, pp. 140-147.

He had notably attacked the government in an extremely violent manner
"Jewish ment" by Henri Brisson, an attitude which had earned him legal proceedings. Cf.
P. Pierrard, French fugitives and Catholics, p. 72.

published by Savine, known for their racial prejudices
two pamphlets competing in L'Podieux. The first, entitled The

“The mystery of blood among Jews throughout history,” the belief reiterates, quite
widespread in Catholic circles at the time, according to which the Jews,
'abominable leeches, insatiable octopuses thirsting for the blood of Christians-
üens' (p. 366) practice human sacrifices and knead bread
of Passover by means of blood taken from the body of a Christian.
In conclusion, he calls for the banishment of all the children of Israel.
in the ghetto (p. 367). This work, which earned its author the praise-
quotes from Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, Vatican Secretary of State,
in the name of Leo XIII," is followed two years later, a few months
before the publication of the Freemason Jwf, by a delirious libel supposed
Illustrate the first prejudice with a real fact:∗'Killed by the fugitives —April
1890 - The story of a ritual murder recounts the alleged abduction committed at
Damascus, Monday, April 21, 1890, against a Christian child, Henri Abd
el Nour, and accuses a Jewish friend of the family of having kidnapped the gar-
connet to entrust it to his coreligionists for sacrifice
ritual.

It is steeped in these foul ramblings that Desportes"® com-
poses his novel. The first scene takes place in a city of
Northwest and opens with a description of the local prefect:

Of mediocre height, with a false and shifty gaze, hair and beard
black and thick, this man, despite his carefully chosen appearance, left

5 Cf. Abbé Henri Desportes, The Mystery of Blood Among Jews Throughout History, Preface
by Édouard Drumont, A. Savine, Paris, 1889, 365 p.

These approvals provoked an indignant reaction from the Chief Rabbi of England.
with Cardinal Henry Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, to whom the abbot
Desportes responds with an even more virulent pamphlet (Jewish Menaces. Manning Incident-
Adler. Péhhion to the Pope. Challenge to the Jews, A. Savine, Paris, 1890, 15 p.). On all
For the question, see P. Pierrard, French Jews and Catholics, p. 129.

5 Cf. Abbé Henri Desportes, Zué par les Jus, April 1890. History of a murder
ritual. Preface by Édouard Drumont, A. Savine, Paris, 1890, 60 p.

The fate of this rather unappealing clerk darkens in the years that follow.
An active proponent of Christian democracy in Lille (see Joseph Brugerette, The Priest)
French and contemporary society. II. Towards the separation of Church and State (1871-1908
(P. Lethielleux, Paris, 1935, p. 390), he founded in November 1890, a mens-
A satirical piece entitled "L'Aiance antiyuive eU" collaborates on a satirical sheet read
The man from Lüll. A police report from June 1900 specifies that he left the Church and th
He then worked as an ink manufacturer. He later retired to Berck-
sur Mer, due to his state of health, and would only have made headlines again as
editor of a small nationalist publication. Cf. P. Pierrard, fwfs and French Catholics-
çais, pp. 128-131 and Danielle Delmaire, Antisemiticism and Catholics in the North during

The Dreyfus Affair, University Presses, Lille, 1991, pp. 172-174.

to suspect, in the whole of his physiognomy, the race to which he
belonged. The examination of his gaunt hands, with tapered fingers and
crooked, would have easily turned this suspicion into certainty. (p. 5)

This high-ranking civil servant summoned the regional education inspector to
to demand the dismissal of the schoolteacher from the village of Blanques,
a certain Rybar, known to be a bigot and a royalist.

The “unfairness” of the prefectural request prohibits the educational official from
It is difficult to obey the orders of one's superior. However, as
Heavy family obligations prevent him from losing his
employment, the inspector proposes placing an imsti- alongside Rybar
assistant tutor, responsible for teaching and supervising classes in Blanques
secretly, his colleague. It's César Olgan, a young man 'at
face soiled with the sad marks of depraved debauchery” (p. 14
who is expected to carry out this task of denunciation.

In a letter addressed to his friend Vulpius Adamo, Olgan confesses
his attraction to the rural atmosphere of the Pays de Caux where 1l
now teaches” and traces of the local priest, Father Joseph Bénigne
(his surname already reveals the novelist's bias), the por-
The following trait, a counterweight to the prefect's painting:

When her kind face, full of gentleness, appeared near the gra-
bat where a poor sick man lay, the saddest little room seemed to have
stolen one of the sun's golden rays, and on the evening of that day people said
in the cabin that the sky had visited the earth. (p. 25)

Among the other local personalities is Olgan, who doesn't have everything
made him renounce his loyalty to Christianity, also notes that of the insti-
official tutor, about whom he gives a flattering description, that
of the pharmacist Deutch,” a free thinker whose gaze is obli-

© In the commentary, Desportes clarifies regarding the prefect of Jewish origin: 'These
Those men feel no ill will when they see in it the success of an infernal
project' (p. 11). In this way, he surreptitiously associates 'injustice' (see the use
of the archaism of anticlericalism of Masonic origin, Judaism and the
satanic theme (through the use of the adjective infemal).

Regarding the setting of the action, it is interesting to note these two
considerations, somewhat forced, which are accompanied by a condemnation of
seaside resorts, 'temples of idleness' (p. 22): 'In these enchanted places reigns
They are a virtuous fragrance of honor and beauty that they want to defile and tarnish.
(p. 20) and 'The cottages have no wealth other than a delightful cleanliness, which

disappears more and more since humanity has been bowed under the sad yoke of iron and black coal (p. 21).

°! Perhaps the memory of a traitor is deliberately hidden behind this surname Simon Deutz, a notorious Jewish convert, who in 1832 betrayed Marie-Caroline de Berry

that, the tortuous approach' (p. 27) and that of the mayor, the Marquis de Roqueverte, to whose reprisals Deutch owes to wearing a wide scar on the face.

Invited to Deutch's house, the young hero learns that his host—a Jew—is Freemason—seeks his help in recovering property nationals that his father had acquired, at the time of the Revolution, on the aristocrat's real estate holdings, but he awaits his an hour to exact his revenge. At a turn in the scene, the author... no one expresses their antisemitism openly:

The Jew, when he is not strong, knows how to bend like a reed; he kisses, If necessary, the foot that strikes him, but he never forgets, and all the Insults are imprinted on his brazen soul. Then, when the time comes to Vengeance, the Jew, the despised, the outraged, rises, raises his hand to his turn upon the oppressor and breaks him: his anger knows no bounds- It is as vast as the open sea, and just as dangerous. (p. 39)

In order to persuade Olgan to support him, the pharmacist tries to remove all scruples from his guest's mind by assuring him, on the tone of flattery, that the young man is 'a Freemason without the knowledge' (p. 44) and, to further convince him, Deutch quotes a excerpt from the book The True Illuminati by Adam Weishaupt where Pitié bava- Kings is supposed to develop the idea that 'the end justifies the means'. For the benefit of his guest, the potentiometer also develops a few considerations on Freemasonry, which would not claim the status of a philanthropic society, but rather the role of a philosophical clan phique —inspired by Voltaire (this 'grimacing monkey'), Helvétius, Raynal, d'Alembert and even Renan—entirely devoted to the fight against the Church. Speaking on behalf of his Brothers, Deutch clarifies that the lodges seek to

to overthrow all human authority in society, because it comes of God, and that once the monarchy is destroyed in the nation, it will be for us It is easy to undermine the reign of God in the individual and in the family.

(p. 46)

After his meeting with Deutch, the young schoolteacher makes the acquaintance
the Marquis de Roqueverte's appointment, a bitter conservative enemy

by revealing to the police, for the sum of five hundred thousand francs, the hiding place
The rebellious duchess, taking refuge with friends in Nantes. Cf. Edmond Dupland,
Marie-Caroline, Duchess of Berry, France-Empire, Paris, 1996, pp. 281-313.

of 'Hourgcoism', that is to say positivism and the love of good-
to be cheap. The mayor's son, Max, is more radical
although his father condemned the modern world and
immediately suspects Olgan of being part of the Lodge, while the
The Marquis was charmed by the young educator's personality.
who agrees to provide him with Assyrian medals to complete
his collection and to give piano lessons to his daughter.

The following scene, worthy of the worst kind of literature,
Deutch is shown being welcomed at night into a cabin by a witch.
named Rat-Dead, initiated into Masonic mysteries, to whom the
The pharmacist is supposed to explain the scope of Judaism. Without ver-
gogne and without the slightest concern for romantic plausibility,
the author places in his mouth some of the Zetmotive of the mani-
anti-Jewish shamanism of Catholic origin in its time:"

For the Jew, everything bearing the name of Christian must be destroyed.
In any case: all Christian flesh, for us, is flesh
guns, cannon fodder, pleasure fodder; all 'goy' property,
It is property to be ransomed, property to be plundered. Thus speaks the Talmud.
Thus speaks history. (p. 70)

The sorceress has a little daughter, Zephyrie, who works at the castle.
and who reports back to her mother the things she heard there. It's from
this way that Deutch, suspected by his accomplice of engaging in 'the
"horrible child sacrifices, still practiced among the Jews" (p. 75),
learns that the marquis is looking for Assyrian coins.

Deutch also tries, by all means, to appease the young Olgan
to Freemasonry, a benevolent society, whose ideal aims at
'to bring back to earth the golden age, the state of nature' (p. 90). As in
As usual, Father Desportes constantly intersperses his narrative with
personal comments, on the solidarity of Freemasons" or on the
role of Satan, 'superior force of Jewish Freemasonry' (p. 97).
Deceived by his evil genius, Olgan decides to receive the initiation-
Masonic ceremony. The ceremony takes place in an inn, where at
the relationship of perfectly authentic elements the expectation in the

® Cf. D. Delmaire, Antisemitism and Catholics in the North during the Dreyfus Affair, pole 22 7

Regarding mutual support among the Brothers, he clarifies: 'I consider it certain that the Masonic charity can never aspire to reach an infinitesimal amount. part of Catholic charity' (p. 80).

a room for reflection, travel, trials of air, water and (fire, the oath, the presentation of white gloves), the novelist mixes inventions of his own making, such as a denunciation session against the villagers, an obligation imposed on applicants to embrace the behind a goat, the wearing by participants in the solemnities of a mask and a white robe. Barely initiated, the hero of the story regrets having indulged in these antics and fears the omnipotence of a society he doesn't know well.

Meanwhile, it has come to light that the priest is accused of having Zephyria was raped and the Marquis lost his mayoral function for having supported the priest's party. Deutch welcomes all these events and, raising a toast to Satan, explains to his friends the The meaning of his retort against the priest and the aristocrat: 'This is what which, he claims, explains the sympathy between Freemasons and Jews: They need each other' (p. 163). Whereas he himself supplied worthless medals to Roqueverte via a roundabout route- He accuses his enemy of acting as a forger and demands, through the interview by a bailiff, the repayment of the debt that the imprudent person has contracted with him to acquire the rare pieces.

When the marquis learns from the prefect, his buyer potentially, that the medals are fake, he finds himself forced to sell his entire estate to honor his creditor. At the same time Meanwhile, the republican press loudly spread the rumor of ignorance. ministries that allegedly took place at night at the castle. The prefect offers However, to marry the marquis's daughter, to get him out of his troubles financiers and to obtain silence on the scandal, but the aristocrat refuses such an arrangement, while Deutch succeeds him as head of the municipal council and immediately imposes secular education in his municipality.

For his part, Father Bénigne, denounced by Olivia, the schoolteacher from a neighbouring village, for indecent sexual conduct towards children, is arrested. The marquis and his daughter are also detained. judicial. From then on, the village population behaved badly: the men- my friends spend their time drinking in bistros and with their families They soon suffer from hunger. Faced with this disaster, Caesar Olgan feels Overcome with remorse, he pays a visit, thanks to Masonic connections.

friendly to Bénigne in his cell and offers to help the priest escape-
last, but met with a refusal. During the hearing of the priest of Blanques
In the examining magistrate's chambers, the magistrate attempts to shed light on the matte
the matter. But, the novelist clarifies, 'free thought is no laughing matter'

with those charged with carrying out its decrees. The rigid Inqui-
the situation was less terrible' (p. 245). This is how the cleric...
is brought before the Assize Court, which, by extraordinary arrangement, sits
in open court and not behind closed doors, as the US prefers -
ges in matters of morality. New implausibility: during
During the trial, Bénigne tries to exorcise little Zéphyrie, who does not
He does not fail to exonerate the accused. César Olgan then hastens to
to denounce the perverse actions of Deutch and the witch. The
The priest is acquitted by the jury.

This curious turn of events is accompanied by another
Happy ending: dismissed from teaching, Olgan is called upon to become the
tutor to the marquis's younger son, who saved his castle and his
by selling his medal collections at good prices. The firm
Deutch goes up in smoke: out of a spirit of revenge, Max, the eldest son,
The marquis set fire to it. The Jewish pharmacist and Freemason
He soon ran to seek refuge with Bénigne. Without a shadow of hesitation-
nor any temptation to punish his offender, the good
The priest gives him some gold coins to ensure his escape and convinces
The marquis entrusted him with a horse. While Deutch ran away to
Never to return, Olgan decides to leave the village forever and enter
in a Carthusian monastery.

As in the quick analysis of the Freemason Jew by Father Henn Desportes
As this novel shows us, it has many common points.
with Florent Bouhours's The Freemason of the Virgin. In Fun and
In the other case, the hero is a sincere young Catholic, drawn into
the wake of Freemasonry by a Jew with dubious intentions
his, Deutch in the first case, Wackeister in the second. The setting
The two narratives also present similarities: ia Maritime Flanders
or the Pays de Caux belong to spiritually
conservatives, where new, even revolutionary, ideas have no
not penetrated. Of these stays protected from all harmful influence, the
The authors paint an ideal image, while the city appears to them
usually disguised as a place of perdition. In both
novel, after a painful and embarrassing situation, the distress
The morality of the Burgemecster family, the ruin of the Marquis de Roqueverte
and the opprobrium cast upon Father Bénigne—the 'natural' balance of the situation—
The system is restored by the imprudent person's renunciation of their commitment.
Masonic: Joseph Burgemecster's mother regains her sanity; the
marquis, His domainc; the pastor of Blanques, his honor. The story
both storylines end happily, with reconciliation

of the hero with the values of faith and religion and by the disappearance
riuon (physical or moral) of the spirit of evil, embodied by the Jew
Freemason.

But the tone differs significantly between the two novels. The French-
The Mason of the Virgin primarily contains a warning regarding the
alleged objectives of Freemasonry (regarding which
Bouhours sought to gather various pieces of information, not always
credible) and the war it is supposed to wage against religion;
It contains a clear invitation to practice Marian piety, source
of all blessings. Despite its often unfair attacks, this work
bathed in an atmosphere devoid of gratuitous malice, it drinks deeply
at the source of a sometimes comical naivety and reveals a lesson where
only a solemn warning regarding the dangers that the
Freemasonry (marked by the influence of republican socialism)
may present for the dogmatic and moral omnipotence of
Catholicism. In contrast, The Freemason Jew by Abbé Desportes
goes far beyond the scope of Christian apologetics: animated
through an unwavering anti-Semitic bias, he also further emphasizes the
domination that Jews are accused of wanting to extend over society
using Masonic leverage. The character of Deutch there
embodies not only the anticlerical and republican ideology attributed to
fog in general to Freemasons, but 1] also maneuver in
Pombre to exact personal revenge against the priest and
the aristocrat, concrete symbols of Christianity, and uses the means
the least avowable methods to achieve his ends, by introducing into the lodge
an unwitting act of baseness, ruining his moral reputation
of the priest, by secretly driving the conservator's representative into bankruptcy
social vacillation. The indictment delivered by the novelist takes on a social dimension.
also more imperious forms: at every turn, the abbot
Desportes intervenes in the course of his narrative to indicate, from a
“In a sometimes outrageous manner,”! the conduct of the Catholic flock
liques are called upon to hold and to fulminate against Judaism, accused
defenseless and without foundation for crimes as abject as they are imaginary.

4. His defense of religious faith in the medieval period even borders on
to ridicule and reflects an unacceptable contempt for the progress of knowledge. He dares,
Indeed, to proclaim: 'Popular beliefs of the Middle Ages, the absurdity of which appears-
rent made our superficial scholars jump, were a poetic manifestation of laws
scientific expressed in a way other than through the brutality of form' (p. 165).

The novels of Florent Bouhours and Abbé Desportes bear witness to
manifestly indicates the intrusion of the myth of a Judeo- conspiracy

Masonic in the novelistic material. They articulate Pun and the other
around a central and almost unique theme: Jews use the
Freemasons to realize their secular and age-old ambitions.
Other narrative works also evoke images
combining Judaism and Freemasonry, but without focusing on...
focus their attention on the theme of conspiracy and without pla-
to place the figure of the Jewish Freemason at the center of the events recounted.

We observe this tendency towards the secondary use of the myth of the
Judeo-Masonic conspiracy and occasional representation
of a Jew initiated into the secrets of Freemasonry in two earlier novels
prior to the year 1900: Cosmopolis by Paul Bourget (1892) and the qua-
three volumes which constitute Contemporary History (1897-1900; by Anatole
France." However, these two accounts are diametrically opposed to the event-
ideological approach: to the Christian traditionalism of the former, embodied by
The novelist Dorsenne, acting as a stand-in for the author, responds with mockery.
The second point is amusing, as expressed by Professor Bergeret.
a distant and skeptical intellectual, just the kind his creator likes.

A complex novel with a convoluted plot, Cosmopolis recounts the love affairs
complicated relationship between the Venetian Countess Steno and her husband
best friend, the Polish Count Gorka, as well as with the painter
American James Maitland. Based on an undeniable interest in the
contemporary theories about race developed by Hyppolite
TFaine and by Joseph de Gobineau,"" the work revels in the
description of diverse human types, among which we note the per-
sonality of Baron Justus Hafner, son of a Berlin Jew and a

% The short story My Uncle Sosthène (1882) by Guy de Maupassant (see Collected Works)
(complete, L. Conard, Paris, 1924, pp. 109-122) does not participate in any way in the der
of a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy. Quite the contrary, the storyteller traces there, with a
A sympathetic tone tinged with irony, the portrait of a freethinking Freemason, very hos-
tile to religions in general and to the Catholic Church in particular, which leads to
disinheriting his nephew in favor of a Jesuit. This singular character was moved by
the care the priest gave him after an evening of heavy drinking and 'converted'
his anticlericalism into complete devotion. Resentment of the nephew, inclined to throw cl
Caux and Freemasons in the same bag: 'Those fools are just imitating priests.
They have a triangle as their symbol instead of a cross. They have churches which they cal
slow of the Lodges, with a host of diverse rites: the Scottish Rite, the French Rite, the
Grand-Orient, a series of laughable nonsense' (p. 110).

% Bourget cites the work of Gobineau throughout his novel (cf. Cosmopolis, Plon-

Nourrit, Paris, n.d., p. 234).

Protestant woman from Hoilland, dubious merchant who got rich in the secondhand trade

antique furniture, then arms dealing. Affiliated with the
Freemasonry, Hafner founded a credit institution which
brings considerable benefits but which, following a ban-
"This fraudulent scheme ruins a large number of small savers."
Brought to justice, the corrupt banker manages, thanks to his connections
sohdes, to obtain an acquittal on the charges against
he takes refuge in Venice, the setting for a large part of
the plot.

Bourget, who had the opportunity to closely study the psychology of
Hebrew financial circles on the occasion of his attendance at
salons held in Paris by various Jewish personalities, does not charge
His character is blamed for all the sins of the world. He reproaches him without
no doubt in a subtle way to wrongly spread the rumor that his
family has renounced Judaism for two generations (p. 166), adoptive
to exhibit brigand-like behavior (p. 380), but seems to take its
left when Montfanon, the prototype of the Catholic aristocrat, what-
that, being rather obtuse, accuses him of espionage:

I don't know which Freemasons he [Montfanon] hates the most,
Freethinkers, Protestants, Jews, and Germans. And
Since this obscure and devious Hafner is a bit of all that, he has
He harbors such hatred! ... Not to mention that he suspects him of being a
secret agent in the service of the Triple Alliance... (p. 242)

The most vigorous rebuke that Bourget seems to address to
His character relates to Hafner's worldly ambition. 'Vain
"Since we are debauched" (p. 399), the banker dreams of marrying off his daughter
Fanny to a transalpine marquis of the Ardea lineage. He succeeded in
his enterprise, thanks to the complicity of Cardinal Guérillot, former
Bishop of Clermont, who disregarded his objections to achieve
the wish of his implacable enemy:

Despite his seventy years, despite the experience of confession, despite
that, more disenchanting, of the sustained struggle against Freemasonry

57 This fictional episode subtly recalls the stock market debacle that occurred, in
1882, by the Union Générale, a bank to which many French Catholics belonged
had entrusted their savings. Cf. Jeannine Verdès-Leroux, Financial Scandal and Anti-
Catholic Semitism. The crash of the Union Générale, Le Centurion, Paris, 1969, pp. 134-138

58 Cf. Michel Mansuy, Prelude and sequel to Cosmopolis. On a manuscript by Paul Bourget,
Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1962 (Literary Annals of the University of Besançon, 50),
I'm 35%

from his French diocese, which had caused his exile to Rome, the saint
The old man viewed Fanny's wedding from the same angle of...
natural. Many priests are like that, capable of a naiveté which,
In the final analysis, he often turns out to have been right. (p. 400)

Overall, then, Paul Bourget's Cosmopolis does not contain
not the unbearable excesses one reads in Bouhours' novels
and Desportes. A prisoner of his time and his milieu, the novel-
cier reproduces the moralizing stereotypes in use in the bour-
conservative geoisie" and cannot escape the caricature that the
The end of the century imposed the Jewish Freemason. In this instance, he avoids
to absolutely portray his antihero according to the sad model
fashionable and to attribute to it some kind of supremacist calculation
politics.' Hafner is a socialite, entirely preoccupied with ensuring
his recognition in Venetian high society and animated by a
a dual ambition, quite legitimate in itself: the success of its
business and the marital success of his daughter.

Prefect Worms-Clavelin appears more ambiguous in the four
volumes of Anatole France's contemporary history, due to the res-
public responsibilities that he assumes. The novelist grants him a
sustained attention in the first volume of the series, entitled The Elm
of the mail (1897) and immediately portrays him as an opportunist devoid of
Without scruples or convictions. A pure product of political circles.
opportunists,"!" devoid of all fanaticism and even of beautiful-
a blow to ideological consistency, Worms-Clavelin, whose name'
reminiscent of that of a prefect of the Nord department, Veil-Durand,
seems ashamed of his Semitic origins and readily presents himself as
a liberal Christian:

Cf. Pierre Masson, 'Stereotypes and Conservative Strategy', in The Stereotype,
Crisis and Transformations. Colloquium of Cérisx-la-Salle (October 7-10, 1995), edited by
Goulet, Presses universitaires, Caen, 1994, pp. 141-145.

"According to one of his commentators, he was content to depend on the 'uniform mono-
tone of social relations'. Cf. Fernando Schirosi, Paul Bourget. He laughs at morality
e della tradizione, Adriatica Editrice, Bari, 1976, p. 58.

9" He is implementing the 'rallying' directive. Cf. Jean Levaillant, Les @entures
of scephcism. Essay on the intellectual evolution of Anatole France, A. Colin, Paris, 1965
(Thesis from the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris), p. 466.

® Cf. Anatole France, Contemporary History. The Elm Tree of Evil, Calmann-Lévy, Paris,
1897%p: 008:

% For Dushan Bredsky (The Art of Anatole France, Mouton, Paris-The Hague, 1969,
(p. 116), this surname alludes to the Concordat of Worms, while for Jean
Levaillant (The Adventures of Skepticism. Essay on the Intellectual Evolution of Anatole F
(p. 481), the novelist would paint, through the figure of Worms-Clavelin, the portrait of

Prefect of Rouen, Ernest Hendilé.

The prefect, however, claimed to be more Christian than many Christians.
and, in Masonic lodge language, he praised the morality of Jesus
and rejected indiscriminately local superstitions and fundamental dogmas
rates, the needles thrown into the Saint Phal swimming pool by the girls at
to marry and the real presence in the Eucharist. (p. 50)

For her part, his wife greatly valued religious objects and fabrics.
church wood to make seats from it, 'of the kind that is called
"poufs" (p. 10), the author ironically specifies, or the furniture of the rectories
of the village, which she buys back for a ridiculously low price thanks to the complicity
quoted by Abbé Guitrel (pp. 33-34). Out of snobbery and also because a
A certain attachment to Christianity 'may serve her well', she confided.
his daughter Jeanne at the institution of the Ladies of the Precious Blood of Neuilly
ct had him baptized in secret. ® But this secrecy reached
the knowledge of a clerical journalist who trumpets in the press
this vengeful anathema:

This ashamed Jew, after having his daughter baptized, put her in a
Catholic school. [...]

It's a pleasure to see how sincere these guys are!

Secular, atheist, murderous education is good for the people who
nourishes! (pp. 264-265)

Undaunted by the attacks, Worms-Clavelin continues its
action, which consists of promoting the accession of Abbot Guitrel, pro-
professor of sacred eloquence at the major seminary, at the bishopric of Tourcoing,
vacant. He sees his support as a form of compensation
morality regarding the contempt and persecution his people have
suffered through the fault of the Catholics:

The intimacy of a priest flattered the Jewish official. He savored it, without
To fully realize it, the pride of revenge. To enslave, to protect
one of those tonsured heads committed over the last eighteen centuries, by heaven
and the land, to the excommunication of the circumcised, was for the Jew a
A tantalizing and flattering success. (p. 44)

In the third volume of the series, The Amethyst Ring (1899), published

At the height of the Dreyfus affair, we learn that Guitrel

64 Cf. Anatole France, Contemporary History. The Amethyst Ring, Calmann-Lévy, Pan le pe 205.

65 Cf. Anatole France, Contemporary History. The Wicker Mannequin, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 11897, p 7202.

is finally appointed to the episcopal see he aspires to, no
without the worldly intervention of the Baroness de Bonmont, a Jew
converted, and without the very suggestive intercession of Mrs. Worms-
Calvelin with a chief of staff of the ministry, Maurice Cheiral,
who, at the very last moment, rejects his seductress because of her filth
bodily.

However, political events prompted Anatole France, who
is convinced of Captain Dreyfus's innocence and who campaigns in
his favor, to express his irony towards the Jews—and incidentally
Freemasons—in hushed tones. In Afonsieur Bergeret in Paris, qua-
The third and final volume of the series, it still lends itself to those familiar with the
some remarks that Madame de Bonmont's salon would not disavow
not the proponents of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy myth:""" but the
Joseph Lacrisse and the Jacques de Cadde plays he directs develop-
pent of conceptions so close to the repudiated Boulangism and
feared that they would disqualify themselves.

While some commentators may have felt that the character of
Worms-Clavelin is on the edge of plausibility, ® there remains
no less than through him Anatole France sacrificed to a tendency
of his time for mocking Freemasons, sur-
everything when initiates maintain ties with Judaism. When
He portrays the Workshops as 'offices invested in designation'
prerequisite for public employment, elected office, and favors
governmental'," he does nothing but repeat, in the style
It is important to recognize the snide remarks that are hostile to the lodges.
which were common in his time. But these remarks are part of the anti-
çonne as we defined it previously, and not of the anti-mason-
msme." They simply regret certain abusive practices.
but unfortunately sometimes real, without building anything up
in a way a demonstrative theory that would seek to eliminate the
Freemasonry in public life or to limit its influence.
considerations expressed by Anatole France regret certain behaviors
reprehensible individual acts; they never constitute a

66

'* Cf. Anatole France, Contemporary History. The Amethyst Ring, pp. 359-365.

''Cf Anatole France, Contemporary History. Monsieur Bergeret in Paris, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1900, pp. 344-348.

% Cf. Marie-Claire Bancquart, Anatole France polémiste, Nizet, Paris, 1962, (Thesis (from the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris), p. 312.

® Cf. Anatole France, Contemporary History. The Elm Tree on the Mall, DOUBT

"Cf. Jacques Lemaire, Anti-Masonry. General Aspects (1738-1998), pp. 9-10.

A legal indictment seeking a ban on Masonic lodges. If they
deplore the actions of certain initiates of Semitic origin in the
in the course of the political game, they in no way call for the implementation of
neither the separation of Jews from civil society nor the eradication of Judaism.

Such was not the radical attitude of a Florent Bouhours, nor, on the contrary,
everything, by Henri Desportes. In the world of novel-
nesque, the last quarter of the 19th century therefore presents variations
considerable in the treatment of the image of the Jewish Freemason.
there observes the polemical effervescence of movements of thought incom-
compatible with the values of humanism and democracy. The role
of support, or even initiator, played by the highest authorities of
the Catholic Church in the undertaking to denounce an alleged
The Judeo-Masonic conspiracy has produced effects contrary to the profits
spiritual things that were sought. Rather than securing his sovereignty
and its prestige, the Catholic intellectual world has, through the cruelty of
his bites and the injustice of his repressive sentences, ruined a
She has, above all, a good portion of her moral standing in her company.
triggered a backlash whose consequences are not all
completely obliterated more than a century later.

THE WEAPONS OF ANTISEMITISM AT THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY IN THE FRENCH-SPEAKING WORLD: PRESS, PUBLISHING, SONGS, CARICATURES

Jean-Yves Mollier

To approach France at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th
Republic means immediately immersing oneself in a world in full
mutation. While access to writing had long remained the preserve-
the nage of the wealthy strata of the population, and of urban dwellers by comparison
rural areas are treated like boys, as opposed to girls, the school

Jules Ferry's reform completed the work begun in 1833 by François
Guizot and continued after 1863 by Victor Duruy. At the end of these
processes that took fifty years to produce their most significant effects
Significantly, we are entering a period of irreversible literacy.
which will radically transform the mental landscape of the French
"The Belle Époque." While the best-selling book from L. Hachette publishers
and Co., the History of France by M" de Saint-Ouen, had sold for 2.2
millions of copies between 1832 and 1882, which constituted a
A true record, 'Lavisse's reached 13 million volumes
between 1870 and 1920, and even then it lags far behind the Geography of
Pierre Foncin or the Grammar of Larive and Fleury, which total 26
millions of books actually sold by their publisher, the Republican
Armand Colin, in the same period of time.'

With textbooks sold by the tens of millions
copies, of daily newspapers that went from 1 million in 1870 to
3 million in 1881 then 10 million in 1910, and collections of

! JY Molier and J. George, The Longest of Republics (1870-1940), Fayard,
Paris, 1994, for the general context and the changes taking place in France
after 1870.

François Furet and Jacques Ozouf, Reading and Writing: Literacy in the French of Caknin
to Feny, Minuit, Paris, 1977, 2 vols.

3 JY Mollier, Louis Hachette (1800-1864). The founder of an empire, Hachette, Paris,
1999!

4 JY Mollier, 'The school textbook and the people's library', Romanticism
No. 80/1993, pp. 79-93.

5 Marc Martin, Media and journalists of the Republic, Odile Jacob, Paris, 1997.

popular books, systematically printed in runs of 50,000 or 100,000 copies.
to please from 1905 onwards, France experienced a true cultural revolution
silent rellc' which brings to light, around the 1880s, this
which we can rightfully call a 'media culture'! The universe
mental state of the inhabitants of this country, the number of which will hardly be reache
to cross the mythical threshold of 40 million nationals in 1900
is undoubtedly shaken by this, which will certainly have pro-
to produce effects during the Dreyfus affair or major outbreaks
nationalists, chauvinists, and xenophobes of the late 19th century. If the assassin-
sinat of the prosecutor Fualdès under the Restoration, of the duchess of
Choiseul-Praslin at the end of the July Monarchy or that of a
family decimated by 'Troppmann in 1869' could have remained unknown
of the mass of French people despite the emotion aroused by these crimes
"scoundrels and their repercussions in the media of the time," he didn't

will be more the same after 1881. With the passing of the major liberal law-
during that year the press, printing, brains, advertising and
Peddling, no more criminal barriers—or almost none—came to limit it.
to combat propaganda, whether it is strictly commercial in nature or,
On the contrary, politics!

While Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu had described the integration at mar-
the forced migration of Jews to their respective adopted nations after
1870,'' the intensity of what Pierre Birnbaum called, after Stephen
Wilson and Michael Burns, the 'anti-Semitic moment', was supposed to delay
or prohibit this phenomenon of the deep inclusion of Jews in
French society and help to bring about, in turn, the mou-
Zionist movement as a response to this state of affairs. We know, in fact

5 JY Mollier, Where is the book going?, La Dispute, Paris, 2002.

7 JY. Mollier, 'The school textbook and the people's library', op. cit.

® J.-Y. Mollier, 'The birth of media culture in the Belle Époque: mise
in place of mass distribution structures', Literary Studies, Autumn 1997,
vol. 30 no. 1, Laval University in Quebec, pp. 15-26.

∗ D. Kalkifa, Ink and Blood: Tales of Crime and Society in the Belle Époque, Fayard,
Paris, 1995.

The courts only intervene after the fact, when the offense of defamation has occurred.
where an offense against public morals is observed; cf. Pascal Ory, ed., Censorship in
France, Complexe, Brussels, 1997.

A. Leroy-Beaulieu, Zsraël chez les nations, Calmann Lévy, Paris, 1893.

® P. Birnbaum, The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898, Fayard, Paris,
1998, M. Burns, Rural society and French politics. Boulangism and the Dreyfus Affair,
1886-1900, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1984, and Stephen Wilson, /deology
and Experience. Anti-Semitism in France at the time of Dreyfus Affair, Farleigh Dickinson
Press, Rutherford, 1982.

that the journalist Theodor Herzl, present in Paris during the trial of
Captain Dreyfus, in these tragic days, arrives at the near certainty
that no other answer than returning to Palestine was available to
those who professed the Israelite religion and whom Drumont had accused-
ses, from 1886 onwards, of all evils, by superimposing on the old anti-Judaism
Christian modern antisemitism. It is therefore by showing attentiveness to
tif to the novelty of literature hostile to 'Israel and its sons that
We will try to get as close as possible to these events, to describe them
the actors and vectors of hatred against a human group
until now rather well tolerated but increasingly suspect in the eyes

of public opinion since the defeat of 1870. In the search for the goat
emissary and the designation of the enemy within, subject of tou-
all conversations during times of mental turmoil and unrest
From the street, Captain Dreyfus's Alsatian origins will play a role in
Playing like that, generally Ashkenazi, of most of his
coreligionists.

Two press cartoons prove invaluable in understanding the modern-
nité of the late 19th century, that of Félix Vallotton, published by Le
Cri de Pans dated January 23, 1898, and entitled The Age of Paper, that of
Caran d'Ache, published in Le Figaro on February 14th and divided into
two vignettes devoted to the Dreyfus affair. Published under the general title-
At a family dinner, he had warned: 'Above all! Let's not talk about
The Dreyfus affair! before showing the consequences of the split
provoked by the discussion in the second captioned caricature: 'They
"They talked about it..." While paper consumption has increased
between 100 and 200 tonnes per day at the height of the fighting
"Franco-French in January-February 1898," that demonstrations resonate-
are on the pavement of many French cities, ° the press, illus-
Whether or not it's a still or moving image, a caricature, a song, a poster,

13 The literature on T. Herzl is too extensive to cite here. We will
will limit itself to referring to J. Julliard (ed.), 'How did they become Dreyfusards or
anti-Dreyfusards?", Mil neuf cent, No. 11/1993, in the Journal of Teodor Herzl, Calmann-
Lévy, Paris, 1990, and to P. Oriol, Bernard Lazare. Anarchist and Jewish Nationalist, Hono
Champion, Paris, 1999.

Laurent Gervereau and Christophe Prochasson (eds.), The Dreyfus Affair and the Turning P
of the century. (1894-1910), BDIC, Paris, 1994, pp. 190-191.

5 JY Mollier, 'Zola and the street', Les Cahiers naturalistes No. 72/1998, pp. 75-91 and
'The Counter-Zolas', Intolerance and Indignation, the Dreyfus Affair, ten. JM Guieu, H. Mi
and JY Mollier, Fischbacher, Paris, 2000, pp. 95-108.

16 M. Burns and P. Birnbaum, op. cit., as well as Michel Drouin (ed.), The Dreyfus Affair
From A to Z, Flammarion, Paris, 1994.

Humorous announcements and amusing items flood the boulevards.
Printed in tens or hundreds of thousands of copies depending on
the case, sold on the street by colorful and strong street vendors
In my mouth, this 'literature of the gutter' to speak like John
Grand-Carteret!? or, more precisely, 'from the sidewalk', ∗ since that's where
that it circulates and finds its most convinced supporters, upsets
spirits by feeding them their daily sustenance. Revealing of a
a developed media culture, adapted to the age of the masses," in the state
of a society already largely commodified in which industry
The entertainment and leisure sector is becoming increasingly rationalized; this war

ink and paper, glue and poster, drawing and
The song, the pamphlet, and the humorous item were all the rage in
1898–1899. It offered anti-Semitism and its champions a whole host of opportunities.
a range of methods invented after 1870 or, for the most part, 1881,
which ultimately gives this prose its modern character which
it provided the bulk of its strength and gave it a cohesion that it lacked
to that of his opponents.

The Transformations of the Book, Publishing and Bookselling after 1881

Traditional habrairie was very active during the two political periods.
third of the 19th century when opportunities arose to take advantage of a controversy
that and selling paper emerged in the public sphere. The public-
Ernest Renan's cation of the We of Jesus was one of them, but above all,
it marked a peak in terms of literary offensiveness on a subject
sensitive. With nearly 200 works printed in 1863–1864, it gave
the opportunity to the bookseller-publisher Edouard Dentu, installed in the heart of the P
Royal, to prove once again that the onlookers were ready to
buy his production provided that a good advertising campaign
the city warned him of its existence and that the daily press biased-
What about this effort to inform the public? However, a first

7 J. Grand-Carteret, The Dreyfus Affair and the Image, Flammarion, Paris, 1898.

8 JY Mollier, 'The sidewalk bookshop in the Belle Époque', The Bookshop Trade
Born in the 19th century. 1789–1914, edited by JY Mollier, IMEC Ed.–Ed. de la MSH, Paris,
199 /%pp 253%

© Gustave Le Bon, The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind, Alcan, Paris, 1895.

∗ JY. Mollier, 'The Ideological Reception of the Wie of Jesus', in Works and Criticism,
No. XXVI/2, 'Lives of Jesus', Tübingen, 2001, pp. 100–118.

The signs of change are immediately apparent when consulting the catalogue.
from 1896 of this company since the section 'religious works'
and anti-religious controversy' now only comprises two pages on
A total of 208, which is quite low, wouldn't you agree?! Bought back
by Curel and Gougis, then Fayard after 1895, this bookshop collection
recorded in its own way the progressive disinterest that had struck the
French-language religious bookstore after 1870. Forced to
to focus on children's or educational publishing, specialist booksellers-
those who read in devotional works had begun to desert the quarter-
third of Saint-Sulpire and if Victor Palmé put up for sale, in 1888, a
one-volume edition of Drumont's Jewish France, published two years
previously published by Flammarion," it was not the expected event

by his publisher. Therefore, Sauvaître, Lecoffre, Palmé, and the others
specialists in religious printing will no longer play any important role
both at the time of the Dreyfus affair, forcing anti- authors
Semites sought other welcoming homes for their writings.
Albert Savine could and should have been for them what Dentu had been
had been thirty years earlier for Renan's opponents since
It was he who, in 1887, had opened the collection in his catalogue
called the 'Semitic Question' which he had transformed in 1890 into a
'anti-Semitic library' which had the merit of proclaiming clearly-
He concealed his intentions. However, he was declared bankrupt in January 1897.
Savine was about to be bought by the publisher of the Dreyfusards, Pierre-Victor
Stock, and Drumont, who had granted him his 7th Testament of an Anti-Semite
and The End of a World in the early 1890s, had to resume its
pilgrim's staff and search again for a roof or a blanket
for its production of groundbreaking books."* If an 'anti-Semitic bookstore'
made its mark in the Parisian scene at the end of 1898, if Flammarion published Gyp,
the viperous Countess of Martel de Janville, if Fayard agreed to do
a noisy demand for the "Behind the Scenes of the Dreyfus Affair" by Esterhazy and
While Fasquelle and Plon collected Maurice Barrès, for the most part the editing-
French tradition of general literature, by far the most prestigious and
The one most sought after by writers and their readers alike was mute.

2 JY Mollier, 'The Battle of Print', Representations of the Dreyfus Affair in
The press in France and abroad, Publication of the F. Rabelais University, Tours, 1997,
pp: 15728: | |

2 Michel Winock, Nationalism, anti-Semitism and Fascism in France, Seuil, Paris, coll.
'Points-Histoire', 1990, pp. 117-144. |

3 JY Mollier, 'The battle of print?', op. cit.

or at least not very talkative, during the two years 1898-1899 in
This sparked anti-Semitic controversy, which forced the leading figures of the movement to
anti-Jewish to seek other funders or printing presses
nationalist newspapers, more favorable to the dissemination of their
theses.

Victim of a temporary crisis of overproduction and adaptation
In the context of the Belle Époque, the traditional bookstore became interested in...
little attention was paid to the Dreyfusard or anti-Dreyfusard controversy, which explains
that the bard of the Innocent, the courageous Pierre-Victor Stock,
had no real rival in his field and he, unlike others, succeeded
to publish more than 150 books or brochures on the subject, drawn, it is true
on average 1,500 copies and therefore little likely to influence
opinion." As he would acknowledge much later, Stock ven-
dait mal his pro-Dreyfusard publications and without financial assistance from
Mathieu Dreyfus and the League of Human Rights, he should have

interrupt its activity.” Almost ruined by the fire that ravaged
his warehouses in 1900, he had had to get rid of them anyway
a large part of his Dreyfusard fund after the Rennes trial
and the release of Alfred Dreyfus because the subject did not interest
no one else, and another kind of literature was favored by the masses.
the one who favored Péphémère and delighted in facilitative jokes–
the or of worn-out clichés.

Under the heading 'popular editions, songs, books and brochures'
of propaganda', open from 1882 to 1906, the Bibliography of France
lists more than 5,500 records, representing an annual average of 203
but fewer than 180 before 1885. Three periods clearly stand out–
lies when we study the variations in this production which does not
rarely exceeding 4 or 8 pages, the years 1887–1889 with res–
respectively 244, 344 and 204 titles, the years 1891–1893 which comprise
then 205, 193 and 250 works and the following ones, 1894–1899,
which bring their share of paper with 311, 346, 276, 291, 382 and
246 titles.® As you will have understood, the Boulanger crisis, the scandal of

∗1 hic

PV Stock, Memorandum of an editor. Third series. The anecdotal Dreyfus affair,
Stock, Paris, Delamain et Boutelleau, 1938, and Michael Burns, Histoire d'une fanulle
French, the Dreyfus. Emancipation, the affair, Vichy, Fayard, Paris, 1994, which reveals t
Mathieu Dreyfus spent the equivalent of 10 million francs in 2001, or 1.6
millions of euros and US dollars to save his brother.

JY Mollier, 'La librairie du trottoir à la Belle Époque', op. cit.

“Panama”? and the Dreyfus affair have certainly left their mark, quantitatively speaking,
the heyday of street literature, which is falling back, after 1900 to less
of 200 titles per year, and of which we have just seen that the year 1898
constitutes the peak with 382 titles cited, representing a 200% increase
compared to the years preceding the subsequent nationalist wave
to bakeries.® Offered to shoppers by several thousand
peddlers, newspaper vendors in the morning and sellers of trinkets–
Printed for the rest of the time, this literature has rarely been judged
worthy of interest even though she is typical of Father of the Crowds and she
draws inspiration from current events to capitalize on popular emotions, from
the explosion of political fevers and that it triumphs when the general–
General Boulanger occupies people's minds, while President Grévy outrages the
French or that the shady dealings of the canal company
Panama and the 'betrayal' of Captain Dreyfus unleashed an anti–
There was already very strong anti-Semitism against Baron de Reinach in the autumn
22nd

The decline–temporary, admittedly–of the traditional bookstore

nelle and the enthusiasm of a segment of the public for printed materials
Easy reading reflects certain changes in French society.
The liberal law of July 29, 1881, itself a consequence of the mul-
"Implication of national and regional press titles," had added
rewarded almost all the obstacles that had prevented the excesses
of the political newspaper or of caricature under the Second Empire.
Completely free, the 'small press' and the illustrated press...
give their all from the advent of Boulangism in
political and they unleashed their fury against the Jews after 1894, the Psstt...!
de Forain and Caran d'Ache reaching new heights in 1898
the ignominy and hatred of the foreigner." In a society now
literate, where schooling is compulsory until age 12-13, where,
From 1886 onwards, education was secularized and where displays such as col-
With the carrying of goods freed from any meticulous controls, crowds can
be easily supplied with literature of a political nature but whose
The content is presented in a humorous way to avoid boredom.

2% JY Mollier, The Panama Scandal, Fayard, Paris, 1991.

% JY Mollier, 'La librairie du trottoir à la Belle Epoque', op. cit.

2% JY Mollier, The Panama Scandal, op. cit.

% Christian Delporte, Journalists in France, 1880-1950. Birth and Construction
of a profession, Seuil, Paris, 1999.

4 JY Mollier, 'Les contre-Zola'", op. ci. and L. Gervereau and C. Prochasson, op. ci.

of the reader or his disinterest in purely intellectual contests.
New weapons of modern propaganda are thus emerging in
From 1886-1887. Tested during the Boulangist offensive against
the regime, contemporaneous with the emergence of leagues in the arena
politics—that of the patriots and the first anti-Semitic league in
these years 1886-1888—these new forms of raising awareness of the
public awareness of current issues will very quickly encounter the anti-
parliamentarism, nationalism, chauvinism, xenophobia and
antisemitism, coloring the street with sinister glimmers and preparing the way for the adv
subsequent development of mass propaganda typical of the 20th century.

Modern Weapons of Anti-Semitism

They were prepared after the installation of the Republicans in the com-
orders of the Third Republic in 1879, and were used massively
movement starting from the Boulangist offensive in 1886. Taking up the
background of bawdy and amusing songs, the authors of literature-

the curb of the sidewalk, Léon Hayard himself or his counterparts,
content to adapt it to contemporary tastes. Hagiographic and contni-
invoking the glory of the condottiere in the case of General Boulanger.
It becomes controversial and aggressive when the scandal of the decorations-
tions reached President Grévy and forced him to leave the Elysée in December
1887. The Lament of the Poor Victim of Panama, The Polka of
Checks, Ferry's Burial in the... mustard, Ah! There he goes
Papa Grey! gives an idea of the content of this propaganda which
becomes even more incisive when Caran d'Ache draws the 'notebooks'
of Panama checks or posters showing the famous cha-
Skin embodying this scandal covers the streets of Paris.* Tests-
Humorous pamphlets were printed against Jules Ferry in 1885.
Jules Grévy in 1887 and this vein which appeals to the inhabitants of the gran-
The cities will not dry up before 1900. Similarly, objects bearing the image
from 'La Boulange', 'General Revanche', hailed the glory mon-
the hero's aunt, like others who had accompanied Victor Hugo to
his last residence in 18835. That the aim of their authors is strictly-

® JY Mollier and J. George, The Longest of Republics . .., op. cit.

% JY Mollier, 'La littérature du trottoir'", op. cit.

Reproductions of this illustrated literature can be found in JY Mollier,
The Panama Scandal, op. cit.

commercial or, on the contrary, clearly political, matters
Little here, since in both cases, the same staff of street vendors
and street vendors will be required to roam the sidewalks
from the capital and to offer the population the contents of their bag.

Successors to the 'ducks' of the Restoration and the peddlers
of yesteryear, the street vendors of major French cities at the end of the 19th century
century benefit from the gradual improvement in the standard of living of
city dwellers to offer them street songs sold for a penny or
Pull-tab items offered at the same price. Playing on emotions
onlookers, the fears of new urbanites, or the fantasies of
Merchants, frightened by progress, are trying to earn a living.
by cleverly using current events and topics that make the
One of the newspapers. Vectors for acculturating the public to politics,
but presenting it from its funniest or most sinister aspect-
Depending on the case, these mediators and heralds of a new kind do
to develop or relapse the most violent fevers. Instruments between
the hands of certain agitators, Boulangists, nationalists or anti-
Dreyfusards, depending on the period, thus serve as a springboard for the car-
behind a tenor or, on the contrary, as an outlet for the anger of subscribers
ruined in the event of the collapse of the canal company
Panama in 1892. This ambiguity of the street vendors was clearly

perceived by Edouard Drumont, the Marquis de Morès and Jules Guérin
who, in turn, will divert the banter and trickery to their own advantage.
The 'emperor of the Camelots', this Napoleon known as 'Léon' Hayard
which the Paris Police Prefecture knew he was paid at
an opportunity to support Boulanger or boo Baron Rothschild."

In a way, the anti-Semitic arsenal used at the height of
The nationalist crisis of January-February 1898 thus provided the evidence
Its effectiveness has been tested and improved through trial and error.
previous ones. Both modern and already efficient, it does not run
the risk of missing the target or failing due to an unsuitable object
to the intended goal. Emile Zola having taken the Affair to the next level in
publishing accuse! in L'Aurore on January 13, 1898, France is then
entry into what John Grand-Carteret aptly called the
'revolutionary phase' of the Dreyfus affair," which would last approximately

% JY Mollier, The Panama Scandal, op. cit.

% JY Mollier, 'Les contre-Zola', op. «it, and APP Ea/46, dossier Léon Hayard.

37 J. Grand-Carteret, op. cit., and Patrice Boussel, The Dreyfus Affair and the Press,
A. Colin, Paris, 1960, coll. 'kiosque'.

two months and then continue, with slightly less intensity,
until the legislative elections of the following May. A verita-
a war of images, photographs, postcards and
posters were played during this climacteric period for the history of
country and it expanded by embracing all possible media and
imaginable. The illustrated press was the most active," and, as early as February 5th,
A special, illustrated journal of the Affair was created, the Psstt...!
Forain and Caran d'Ache. From page 2 of issue 1, the tone was
given and the guiding thread of the fantastical narrative of the Affair
unveiled to the public. Indeed, Baron Jacques de Reimach could be seen,
resurrected for the occasion, to throw into a game of skittles representing
France, the ball named 'Zola' which was intended to deliver the country
defenseless against his mortal enemy, the Prussian. Thus the public was-
He was let in on the plot and enlightened about its inner workings.
The Dreyfus Affair. The Venetian Zola used the Jews to sell
France to Germany, clearly designated here as the one that
manipulated public opinion and wove the threads of the conspiracy intended to make disappe
to restore the homeland of the Revolution to the map of the European continent."

Apart from Psstt...!, which was very active throughout the period, other
newspapers, ephemeral like L'Etnille by Alfred Le Peut, Za Silhouette.
The Pillory or the Grand Guignol, sang for weeks the
Same old refrain: the Jew Dreyfus was merely the shadow of the Teuton
and, behind him, hid the hated Prussian who had already crushed the

France in 1870, taking advantage of the treachery of a 'fifth column'
before the letter, the Ashkenazi Jewish communities established in Paris
or in eastern France. Faced with this onslaught of hateful images-
In response, the Dreyfusards attempted to retaliate by deploying their own
powerful images but The Whistle of Ibbels and Hermann-Paul, The Bell
The Cni of Paris did not have the same audience or the same influence.
than their opponents. Janine Ponts' analysis for the national press-
nale is undoubtedly also relevant at the newspaper level
illustrated: 98% anti-Dreyfusard in 1894, it will still be 58%
in 1899, which allowed Ernest Judet's Petit Journal, the Journal
and in the morning to keep the French in ignorance or belief

Ibid.

® JY Mollier, 'Zola et la rue', op. cit., p. 78 for the commentary on this drawing
extremely indicative of the nationalist mindset,

Janine Ponty-Lavieuville, France and the Dreyfus Affair. Contribution to
A social study of public opinion, 1898-1899, doctoral thesis in history, EPHE.
JIOATE

that Dreyfus was guilty and Walsin-Esterhazy unjustly denounced.
Like Emile Zola, the cannon that had fired the first shot of
this anti-national offensive, he himself was portrayed as a
a pig wallowing in its excrement or a pornographer enjoying himself
the scent of the public urinals,∗! the Dreyfusards were powerless to
slowing down this deluge of images in which The Museum of Horrors carved its way
the lion's share.'

On a different note, street songs, which were very popular at the time,
It also deeply disturbed consciences by opening itself up so wide,
to politics and militant Pantidreyfusism. The Alphabet of the Jews, The
Zola's Mouth. Great Duo sung by Zola and Dreyfus on Devil's Island, and
dozens more, neither finer nor more striking, were drawn at
10,000, 20,000, 50,000 and sometimes 100,000 copies. Hummed
or outright shouted by street vendors and other hawkers habitu-
Because they capture the attention of the crowd, they are also easily snatched away
than The Panama Papers five years earlier, or than 4 a.m.! What
The misfortune of having a son-in-law, or the tribulations of a father-in-law in the era c
scandal caused by Daniel Wilson in 1887. Similarly, making them-
humorous and facetious obituaries that had, in their
time, contributed to undermining the foundations of the authority of a Jules Ferry or
Did the works of a Jules Grévy serve in 1898 to overwhelm the wretched of the
At the time, the German funeral service for Alfred Dreyfus was held at 200,000.
copies, Zola's Death in the Assize Court at 120,000 and The Will
authentic Alfred Dreyfus documents in 200,000 copies, which reflects the success of the...
events of this kind, now extinct but typical of late France

century.

Spinning cards or pull-tab cards, these fun objects made in
cardboard boxes were generally used to entertain children or to awaken their senses.
The senses of adults when they touched pornography. Transformed
and, updated for modern tastes, they could be used to show off the buttocks of
the Mouquette tattooed with 'To Zola for life' or to show a
great devil capable of plunging the naturalist writer into a chau-

John Grand-Carteret, Zola in Pictures, F. Juven, Paris, 1908, and JY Moller, 'The
against Zola', op. cit.
#2 TI, Gervereau and C. Prochasson, The Dreyfus Affair and the Turn of the Century... op.
pp. 91-96 for the reproduction of these incendiary placards.
JY Mollier, The Panama Scandal, op. cit, iconographic section p. 308.
JY Mollier, 'Zola et la rue', op. cit., and 'les contre-Zola', op. at. for others
equally compelling evidence of the impact of this propaganda.

"A pitcher of boiling water in The Last Judgment of the union." The Nose of
Proud of Mathieu, The Secret of the Veiled Lady, Zola-Mouquette, the foundation
those involved in the Dreyfus affair were not distinguished by their subtlety or elegance.
but they admirably embraced the forms of their time by
adapting to the carnival of winter 1898 and the transgressions it
had been longed for for centuries. Modern and efficient, plea-
healthy or at least enticing, this material seemed inexhaustible and the
contemporaries of the Dreyfus affair were thus able to afford, for what-
under the table, games of goose, articulated puppets, erasers, and...
blotting paper, fake labels, facsimile telegrams
my, burlesque of course, or even earthenware plates, some
glasses, pipes, soaps, candies" and thousands of others
Objects all more or less related to current events. Designed by
the fertile imagination of vulgar, unscrupulous merchants or that
of seasoned agitators, such as Léon Hayard who made a good one
Many of these objects in his workshop belong to the anti-se- arsenal
mite, anti-Dreyfusard, nationalist and chauvinist, and it is for this reason-
their merits deserve the attention of the historian of cultural phenomena,
both the representations of the Jew intended to permeate consciences
later found in these two years 1898-1899 the opportunity
to capture the imagination and leave a strong impression.

Crowds and the street in the service of anti-Semitic mobilization

As mentioned in the introduction, alongside the surge or the debauchery-
symbolic pieces of paper marking entry into a society characterized
Through the presence of a media culture, speech also played a role.
an essential role in the rise of French anti-Semitism

French at the end of the 19th century. A working tool for street vendors, the most
often starving and emaciated, it is the subject of intense work by-
designed to attract the attention of the passerby, to surprise the onlooker, to stop the

#5 Jhid.

L. Gervereau and C. Prochasson, The Dreyfus Affair and the Turn of the Century... op. ci
show the variety of this anti-Semitic arsenal, without, however, exhausting its richness.

This is why we prefer to use the expression 'literature of the
"Sidewalk" to refer to this propaganda since it was essentially sold in
the streets and boulevards of major French cities, the phrase 'literature of the
stream', forged by Grand-Carteret, having the disadvantage of overwhelming this pro-
leading to an intellectual contempt ill-suited to his study.

passing by and enjoying the few seconds of surprise stolen from their
a stroll to arouse in them a violent desire to know more
tage and to remain under the spell, even momentarily, of the bonimen-
author. Heavily oralized, as has not been sufficiently emphasized, literature
the sidewalk is indeed not really meant to be read in the
The silence of his study or office. Quite the opposite, conceived
to be hummed, shouted, or even yelled, in any case read aloud,
this production serves as a link between an oral, popular culture by
destination, even popular in essence, and a written, intellectual culture
literate and scholarly, aimed more at the cleric than the average person,
to the scribe or the professor more than to the pedestrian of Paris. Even
If differences exist between one printed item and another, it does not matter.
doubt that the Hayard publishing house catalogue was in no way seeking
to meet the public of the Stock bookstore and that, on the contrary, two
worlds and two mental universes can be discerned from reading their
reciprocal funds.

An intermediary between the merchant and the consumer, the word
It also served, during the Dreyfus affair, to mobilize crowds.
hateful, convinced that an enemy lurking in the shadows had decided
to conspire to their downfall or the destruction of their nation.
Manipulated by demagogic leaders who intend to carry
blows to the regime, the word then seeks to unite in order to prevent-
dear to the departure of General Boulanger for his retirement from Clermont-
Ferrand on July 8, 1887, the date on which the presence of the Emperor
The presence of street vendors and their army is attested to by the police, or to do
to overthrow Jules Ferry in March 1885.* Déroulède and Drumont did
part of these leaders best suited to trigger and then channel
the emotions of the crowds, from 1887 to 1899 at least, and one as
The others became, during this period, factious individuals conspiring against
the regime. The former denied giving in to a primal anti-Semitism
mayor" while the second, on the contrary, wished, from the preface

If]

of Jewish France, in 1886, to write the history of 'the Jewish conquest'.

#8 APP Ea/46, op. cit.

For the chronology of the Second Republic, see JY Mollier and J. George, La longer of the Republics . .., op. «t., pp. 737–761.

50 Such, at least, is the somewhat forced thesis of Bertrand Joly in his biography. phie dedicated to Déroulède, Plon, Paris, 1999.

5 E. Drumont, Jewish France, Marpon and Flammarion, Paris, 1886, 2 vols.

Pillowcase. V.

Less intelligent and less skilled at training urban masses to
his successor, however, was capable, at certain times, of
to win the sympathy of the street vendors and their powerful boss, which
allowed him to actively contribute to the rise of anti-Semitism
in France and Algeria in the first half of 1898.
Thanks to the support of Léon Hayard, he was able, for a brief period,
to control the Trade Association of Town Criers, Distributors and Peddlers
those of the Seine department, which could have proven decisive
It would have been disastrous if the emperor of the street vendors hadn't finally shown up
uncontrollable."

Giant or alcoholic colossus, a pathological liar convinced he knows-
Léon Hayard knows 'his' Paris better than the Police Prefecture does.
would appear, in many ways, as a precursor to the
companions of Arturo Ui who, in Bertolt Brecht's play. favo-
"They raise 'the Resistible Rise' of Adolf Hitler." In this sense, he
would foreshadow the middle management of Italian fascism in the inter-period
wars* or those of Nazism, which was contemporary with it." Auxiliary
the dirty work of the Marquis de Morès or Jules Guérin, the
the most fiercely anti-Semitic leaders of the years 1888-1898. Leon
Hayard did not, in fact, mind shouting his hatred of the Jew and bringing
his support for Edouard Drumont, a great critic of Israel and the
Rothschild." Therefore, one could use his example to confirm-
to examine Zeev Sternhell's analyses on the existence of a pre-fascism in
the French one and even its precedence over its European counterparts
"Peasants." Undoubtedly, the character reveals himself to be close to the leaders.
from the interwar period and he didn't mind throwing punches

with the police to prove his ability to control the streets in defiance of
government orders. However, he distanced himself from his successors.
by his 'Parisian street urchin' side, his love of jokes and his refusal
to obey anyone, even his employer. A 'funuste' candidate for

® Henri Ghéon, in La Vieille Dame des rues, published in 1899, painted a portrait of
An astonishing trait of the character: a pathological liar and an alcoholic, therefore unc

® B. Brecht, The Resishble Ascension of Arturo Ui, in Théâtre complet, L'arche, Paris,
JS 0 EMI

%* Pierre Milza, Mussolini, Fayard, Paris, 2000.

% Jan Kershaw, Hitler, trans. fr., Flammarion, Paris, 2000, 2 vols.

5% APP Ea/46, op. cit.

* Z. Sternhell, The Revolutionary Right: The French Origins of Fascism, 1885–1914,
Seuil, Paris, 1978 and N° right nor left. Fascist ideology in France, Complexe, Brussels,
LEZ,

In the May 1898 elections, he thus deprived the nationalist, Catholic camp
and anti-Semitic, a valuable recruiting sergeant for his propaganda
but such is the nature of the boisterous peddler that he cannot for long-
Time to stand at the heights of politics and then come back down
quickly to get back to the wine, the girls and the revelry, arousing
then the anger of his former companions or associates who do not com-
They take nothing from his reversals.

An eminently ambiguous character, who loves the bottle and the
struggle to adhere permanently to an ideology, Léon Hayard
then appears more as a bridge, a footbridge between two eras-
questions, that of before and that of after the First World War.
Potentially pre-fascist but keeping a safe distance from it by its
fundamentally anarchist in nature, it serves to better measure the dis-
The period that separates the Belle Époque (1896–1914) from the Roaring Twenties
(1920–1953) in French historiography. If Europe has indeed and
well known, before August 1914, the entry of crowds into the public sphere
that and politics, too many elements—the brutalization of societies in particular—
as well as the rationalized brainwashing that followed the
declaration of war"—separates it from fascism and totalitarianism
subsequent events so that one might hastily conclude that there is continuity between the
two eras. Where the political movements after 1918 demanded-
will enforce the strictest discipline and, if necessary, will impose it by the
force and bloodshed, their predecessors of the 1890s–1900s were
unable to achieve such results and had to be content with interest-
to materially restrain their most zealous propagators if they do not want-

They didn't want to see them escape or, worse, go to the highest bidder.
possibly their political enemy. Typical of the age of crowds, the
The Parisian street vendor would thus not be reducible to the political propagandist-
tisé of the 1930s and perhaps that's what helped preserve the
France embarks on a reactionary adventure in these troubled times where the
Captain Dreyfus triggered the reading of nationalists and the shackles to the state
pure of the most obsessive anti-Semites.

58 APP Ea/46, op. cit, and JY Mollier, 'les contre-Zola', op. cit. |
5% Georges L. Mosse, From the Great War to Totalitarianism: The Brutalization of Societies
European, French translation, Hachette, Paris, 1999.

Modernity of the anti-Semitic arsenal or archaism of the propaganda?
end of the century?

As we have tried to show in this article, the weapons for-
sharpened and honed by anti-Semitic propaganda in the years that
run from the Boulangist fever (1887-1888) to the waning of the ag-
anti-Dreyfusard stance (late 1899-1900) demonstrates a surprising
modernity if we judge them by the yardstick of their political effectiveness and not
to that of their literary value. Adapted to the entry of a society
democratic—where every voter counts as much as their neighbor—
in the media sphere, corresponding very precisely to the em-
the emergence of a culture of the ephemeral and, already, of spectacle," they
first of all, they bear witness to the state of a society where merchandise occupies
an essential place. Whether it appears frivolous, trivial or burlesque-
that, even stupid in the case of the anti-Semitic arsenal, does not change
It wouldn't have much to do with the problem since the Parisian street vendors wouldn't ha
could continue their street vending in the capital if
masses of men, and women, had not had at their disposal at the same time
leisure and money to afford these luxuries that would fuel their worst
fantasies or, on the contrary, would serve as an outlet and catharsis for them
They resisted the changes of their time. Examples of the situation
of a France that is definitively literate and subject to commentary
of current events by an omnipresent news press, the pam-
leaflets, caricatures, pamphlets, placards, posters, postcards, photos
Graphics, amusing announcements and whimsical objects invade the space
public from 1889 onwards, and especially at the height of the Drevfus affair
in 1898-1899. Appealing to the heart, to feelings and passions
or to feelings and never to reason, unlike the book one
at least somewhat argued — including the article entitled "The Accuse!" first
intended to circulate in the form of a brochure—seeking to per-
to persuade and not to convince, as Pascal would have said, the weapons of
Anti-Semitism allowed the anti-Dreyfusards to win the battle
of public opinion until 1906, which attests to their power
and their adaptation to this type of society of spectacle and fair.

permed.

% Guy Debord, The Society of the Spectacle, Buchet-Chastel, Paris, 1967, was wrong
to date the phenomena he describes elsewhere to the second half of the 20th century
with great relevance.

$ JY Mollier, 'Zola and the street', 0. ci.

Pierre-Victor Stock may well try to contribute
At the victory of Justice and Truth, few French people
who agreed to read his books and devote the necessary time to them.
Continuing Voltaire's fight in the service of Calas, but with
methods dating back precisely to the Enlightenment, the book for the essential-
As such, he could not compete with his opponents.® He was aware of this.
since he contrasted Le Sifflet with Psstt...!, the idealized image of the innocent
that of the 7th, and other more appropriate means of propaganda
to the habits of the French of the Belle Époque, but his friends from the
The League of Human Rights or the Sorbonne had some
difficulty following him on this ground, preferring to feed the catalogue
from the publisher in thick volumes rather than in small circumstantial pamphlets
tance, It was the honor of the Stock bookstore to have printed
the indictments of Clemenceau, or of Joseph Reinach, but these
these works probably bothered even the most convinced anti-Semites very little.
cus, proof of their disconnect from their time. In a society where
everyone knows how to read, where the news item is present from the first to the last-
last page of the daily newspaper, where sensationalism is more appealing than
the ordinary and where conspiracy is worth the best explanation in matters
In political science, anti-Semitic propaganda appears undeniably
perfectly adapted to the needs of contemporaries and elsewhere the came-
Lots are not mistaken, since the market immediately penalizes them.
positively or negatively, their attempt to stay current and
to comment on it using the range of tools offered by literature
sidewalk.

Therefore, beyond anything that falls under the will of
anti-Semitic denigration and propaganda belong to him alone.
The fin-de-siècle in the Francophone world has managed to adopt new forms.
which deserve the attention of both the lexicologist and the socio-
both the journalist and the historian. Part sensationalist news story, part sensationalist
and the duck of the Ancien Régime or the Restoration, relying
on the suggestive power of the image even more than before because
progress in technical processes for reproducing illustrations,
and on the pervasiveness of stereotypes, even the most hackneyed ones, she
However, it departs from the forms that preceded it. Becoming more

6 JY Mollier, 'Publishing in the turmoil of the Affair', in The Dreyfus Affair by A

A OP CH, DD 917 00! |
5 D, Kalfa, L'Encre et le Sang..., op. cit.

political, closely following the contours of current events and not deviating from them
rarely, thus demonstrating a surprising plasticity,
The propaganda used during the Dreyfus affair thus provides proof
of its modernity much more than of its possible archaism even if
She doesn't mind sometimes using very old frustrations or
of the phobia of pigs, centuries old in many respects," to reach-
to set his goal and defeat his enemies. Still rudimentary compared to that
compared to the resources deployed in the 1930s,
on an industrial scale, by the main totalitarian regimes of the lepo-
that this propaganda was unique in Europe at that time of mutation-
profound transformation of 'imperial societies' and that is precisely what continues
requiring us to ask ourselves questions, more than a century after it fell back-
awestruck, by his extraordinary ability to delay the hour of triumph
of Law, Justice and Truth.

Caricature between Republic and censorship. The satirical imagination in France from 1830
1880, edited by P. Régnier, PUI, Lyon, 1997.

© Christophe Charle, The Crisis of Imperial Societies, Germany, France, Great Britain,
Essay in comparative social history, Seuil, Paris, 2001.

RAGS AND RICHES, OR BOGEYMEN OF THE STOCK MARKET: ANTISEMITISM AND THE ABSTRACT ECONOMY IN ENGLAND, THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE AND CENTRAL EUROPE, 1720–1900*

Michael Berkowitz

Among scholars of modern European history, social science, and literature
erature, the fact that Jews became the focus of enmity in the wake
of financial downturns and crises in Germany and Austria, in the
1870s and beyond, is well known.

The revival of anti-Semitism,
reads to standard history,

was perhaps the most important result of the Gründerzeit and the
myth of Jewish conspiracy was to recur periodically in German poli-
tics from this time onward.'

With the exception of my learned audience, it is less recognized that Jews were accused of instigating massive corruption in the French economy and government, spanning both the Panama scandal and the Dreyfus Affair. It is worthy of mention, not necessarily coincidentally, that echoes of Panama resounded in the Stavisky Affair of the mid-1930s,° and the shmate-scandal of Paris of our own fin-de-century." Although the expression 'rags to riches' usually is a short-

∗ The author wishes to acknowledge the British Academy, and Convocation Appeal Fund Award for the Central Research Fund (University of London), St. John's College, Oxford and the Littauer Foundation which supported research for this project.

! Gordon Craig, Germany 1866-1945, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1980, pp. 84-5; Robert Wistrich, The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph, Littman, Oxford, 1990, p. 147; Peter Pulzer, 7he Rise of Pohhcal Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria, rev. ed., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998, pp. 72-97, passim.

2? Paula Hyman, 7th Jews of Modern France, University of Cakfornia Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998, pp. 147, 150; Paul Jankowski, Stasky: Confidence Man in the Republic of Virtue, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2002.

3 Anat Cygielman, “French media portray Israel as ‘Criminals’ Eden”, Hearetz, (English internet edition), February 26, 2001.

hand for a success story, of rising to wealth and eminence from depravation, I will suggest something different: that the combination of rag-peddling, rich, and purported Jews wrongdoing has a long, complex, and protean legacy, with an important point of inception in early eighteenth-century England.

With reference to the period before and concurrent with the Dreyfus Affair, one does not, however, often hear of episodes and attitudes in England and the United States that were in many respects comparable. In both these countries, there were pronounced tendencies to perceive Jews as crucial agents of, as well as subverters of, what may be termed the abstract economy particularly in domains where the state, big business and financial interests converged. In his extremely influential work of 1902, /imperialism: À Study, JA Hobson made clear that the exemplary 'parasites of imperialism', whose destructiveness to Britain was unparalleled, were Jews.' In the United States in the decades following the Civil War, a 'close and visible relationship between Jews and the ruling elite led some who opposed the new industrialist order to embrace antisemitism, in an effort to

undermine the regime by identifying it with Jews'.® Moreover, this was at period of not only disquieting corporate and governmental consolidation that accompanied intense modernization, but it was considered 'the most corrupt and scandal-ridden' chapter in American history —with which Jews were frequently associated.® Not surprised-ingly, there exists scant mention of these currents in mayinstream interpretations of the rise of modern Britain and America's Gründerzeit, as such discussions typically are confined to studies of anti-Semitism."

But because mass anti-Semitic movements did not emerge in these countries, the kind of stirrings that have been thoroughly treated in the French and Central European contexts have been underexam-incd in the English and American spheres, with regard to modern Jewish history. This is not to say that anti-Semitism was as virulent in England and America as it was in Eastern and Central Europe

JA. Hobson, imperialism: A Study, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1965, pp. 46-63.

∗Benjamin Ginsberg, The Fatal Embrace: Jews and the State, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1993, pp. 60f.

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7 See Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877, Harper and Row, New York, 1989, and his extensive bibliography.

and France. But there is more than a curious resemblance between the discourse relating Jews and reputed financial misdeeds and undue influence im the English-speaking realm, before and simultaneously with the Dreyfus Affair, and events that erupted in Europe from the 1870s to the present. Nevertheless, England and the United States are almost categorically excluded from synthetic treatments of antisemitism. To give but two examples: in Jehuda Reinharz and Paul Mendes-Flohr's revised documentary collection, The few in the Modern World, the 27 selections on 'Political and Racial Antisemitism' include no British or American texts; the chapter on America, however, does have a rant from Henry Ford of 1920. In his classic, From Prejudice to Destruction: Antisematism 1700 to 1933, Jacob Katz infers that anti-semitism was more or less resolved in England when 'the first Jew entered Parliament in 1858. This marked the end of the basic polit-ical disability of the Jews, a limitation that had stemmed from the close connection between church and state'.°

My main purpose in this brief presentation is to pose both affiniues and connections between apparently disparate episodes. This is not to say that one triggered the other, but rather, to argue that the

legacy of modern scapegoating of Jews in the English-speaking world made its appearance in Central and Western Europe seem unremarkable—and more acceptable, or even aroused to sympathetic—if unspoken, understanding. Furthermore, anti-Semites in France and Germany sometimes supported their invective, or took solace in their stance, by noting that there were precedents for such strands of anti-semitism in the English-speaking world." Such notions also fueled anti-Semitic 'scholarly' and popular opinion about how the Allies had been duped by Jews.!' In the anti-Semitic imagination, which contains

8 Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, The Jew in the Modern World: Documentary History, second edition, Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1995/pp. 504-367, 512

9 Jacob Katz, From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933, Harvard University Press, Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1980, p. 3.

0 See the meticulously researched work, which gives all antisemitic utterances the benefit of the doubt: Peter Aldag, Juden in England, Nordland Verlag, Berlin, 1941; Aldag, Das Judentum in England, Nordland Verlag, Berlin, 1940; Eugen Karl Dühring, Die Fudenfrage: als Racen-, Sitten- und Culturfrage: mit einer weltgeschichthcher Antwort, H. Reuther, Karlsruhe and Leipzig, 1881, pp. 91; Christoph Hinteregger, Der Fudenschwindel, Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, Vienna, 1923.

ll See Peter Aldag, Worüber berichten wir heute: unsere Gegner und hr Krieg, Nordland Verlag, Berlin, 1941; Aldag, Dollar-Imperialismus, F. Eher Nachf, Berlin, 1944; Otto

common threads from England and the United States to Europe, there has been a tendency to give credence to an innate connection between Jews and crime—on various levels—to greater extent than historians have usually acknowledged.

With this in mind, I believe that a more nuanced understanding of anti-Semitism in France's Third Republic, Germany's Gründerzeit, and even the Nazi period may especially benefit from a reevaluation tion of a seismic convulsion of early eighteenth-century England: the notorious South Sea Bubble. Despite the fact that systematic anti-semitic organization did not follow in its wake, I believe that it is instructive to take a fresh look at the event—especially because it has escaped the notice of even Anglo-Jewish historians. As an import-as historiographic note, Î refer again to the near-present: in 1998, an unusual work appeared by a young scholar, a PhD student at Columbia University, David Liss—which became a best-selling novel entitled To Conspiracy of Paper. Liss writes in the book's 'Historical Note that

The South Sea Bubble of 1720 was a real event. best remembered as the first stock-market crash in the English-speaking world, but it was also the culmination of years of confusion and abuse within the London financial markets. For Great Britain in the early eighteenth century, stocktrading, government issues, and lotteries were all relatively new, and the uncertainty that comes with newness created an exciting culture within Exchange Alley. Certain thinkers—some as well known as Daniel Defoe, others anonymous or forgotten—-cast the financial markets as either foreboding or wondrous, promising either bounty or doom. This volatile atmosphere vied with massive body of writings about the new financial order, which has lately generated an intense scholarly interest in the South Sea scheme, the crash, and eighteenth-century British finances in general. Within the past five years, historiyears, literary critics, and sociologists have shown a marked increase interest in the fiscal volatility of this period, and this interest suggests something about the economic uncertainty of our own era.

This novel grew out of my work as a doctoral candidate. .. where my research focused on the ways in which eighteenth-century Britons imagined themselves through their money. After years in the archives, reading pamphlets, poems, plays, periodical essays, and long-forgotten novels, I failed to find the source that told me precisely what I wanted

Kriegk, Wer treaibt England in den Krieg? Die Kriegshetzer Duff Cooper, Eden, Churchill und thr Einfluss auf die enghische politik, Nibelungen-Verlag, Berlin, 1939,

to know about the new finance. So I wrote one. My goal in this novel has been to capture both the unbridled enthusiasm and the pervasive anxiety of the period leading up to the South Sea Bubble.'?

What Liss does not say explicitly is that he also wishes to underscore the Jewish dimension of the South Sea Bubble. He respectfully refrains from calling scholars to task for eschewing the matter, but clearly this is one of his prime motives. Indeed, it is easy to argue that Jews did not, in fact, have much to do with the perpetration of the scandal.” In Anglo-Jewish history, to the extent that it is noted at all, it is to recall (improbably) that the Jewish financier Samson Gideon was among the honest brokers who kept the country from falling apart. Yet this does not detract from the fact that Jews were singled out as principal culprits, and such charges did not simply peter out in English political discourse. Similar charges dogged the rise of the Rothschilds, the controversy over the Jewish Naturalization Bill of 1753, and the debate over the acceptance of Jews in Parliament. However much such sentiments may not have won out, or nated public discourse, these attitudes were present, noticed, occasioned sionally revived, and viewed with interest from the Continent. Hence,

the notion that Jews interfered with the government, at the expense of the greater national interest, did not have to be freshly invented in the fin-de-siecle and around the time of the two World Wars. Characteristically, such arguments were marshalled domestically in order to warn against intervention in foreign conflicts, or to demonstratum in retrospect that the country had been drawn into the war out of 'Jewish' desires.” In no small measure, this was the essential argument of the original 'revisionist' diatribe directed against Woodrow Wilson and the United States' entrance into World War I, which served as an important precursor to later 'revisionist causes, such as that which evolved into the phenomenon of Holocaust denial.

2 David Liss, A Conspiracy of Paper, Random House, New York, 2000, pp. 4389.

13 See Edward Chancellor, Devil Take the Hindmost: A History of Financial Speculation, Macmillan, London, 1999, pp. 30-95.

4 See HP Stokes, A Short History of the Jews in England, Central Board of Missions and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Macmillan, London and New York, 1921, p. 77; AM Hymanson, The Sephardim of England, Metheun, London, 1951%pp., 1287181

5 See Frank Renton, Jewish Defense Campaign Speakers Handbook, Woburn Press, London, 1937; AC Crouch, Jews are News!, Newman Wolsey, London, 1948; Tea Jews: Some Plan Facts [5 editions], Woburn Press, London, 1941 43; Eleanor Rathbone, Falsehoods and Facts about the Jews, Victor Gollancz, London, 1944.

In addition to bringing attention to Liss's fascinating and creative work, which might be said is a more successful merging of history and fiction than that of Simon Schama,'f I also wish to enjoin the scholarship of Bernard Glassman, Frank Felsenstein and the burgeoning Shylock industry, on the evolution of the Jewish stereotype in England, which predates both the debate over the 'Jew Bill and the readmission.”? In addition to the fact that no great antisemitic movement arose in England, I believe that there is another sahent factor which has inhibited understanding of the South Sea Bubble and the Jews, related to what Ismar Schorsch has called 'the myth of Sephardic supremacy'."" The leading social historian of Anglo-Jewry, Todd Endelman, writes that in the Georgian period, 'as foundblesome as the Sephardi poor were to the synagogue authorities, their arrival in England never became a matter of concern to the non-Jewish audience. The popular image of the Sephardi Jew was that of an opulent stockbroker and that of the Ashkenazi Jew, to be ragged old-clothes man.' What seems to have actually happened, however, was that poor Sephardim tended to merge, in Jews and non-Jewish popular consciousness, with the growing masses of Ashkenaznn, and the wealthy Ashkenazim were lumped in with the Sephardi upper

echelon. Endelman infers that the perception of the Sephardim was largely positive, or at least harmless, versus the influx of Ashkenazim which was seen as pernicious. Most likely, though, Frank Felsenstein is more accurate to add that 'The awareness among antisemitic writers of the period of the distinction between Sephardim and Ashkenazim is at best superficial, but it is a distinction that is deployed to show you that Jews, disrespect of their background, whether rich or poor, are everywhere the same in their love of gain and grasping nature".

© Simon Schama, Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations, Knopf, New York, 1991.

7 Bernard Glassman, Antisemitic Stereotypes Without Jews: Images of Jews in England, 1290–1700, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1975; Frank Felsenstein, Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660 1830, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1995; James Shapiro, Shakespeare and the Jews, Columbia University Press, New York, 1996; John Gross, Shylock: A Legend and Its Legacy, Touchstone, New York, 1994; Martin D. Yaffe, Shylock and the Gewish Question, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1997.

® Stephen Birmingham, The Grandees: America's Sephardic Elite, Harper and Row, New York, 1971; Ismar Schorsch, 'The Myth of Sephardic Supremacy' in Leo Baeck Year Institute Year Book, 34, 1989, pp. 47–66.

® Todd Endelman, Jews of Georgian England, p. 171.

Frank Felsenstein, p. 52.

Morcover, although one may dwell on the important distinctions between portrayals of Sephardim versus Ashkenazim, the fact remains that both were seen as 'distinctly un-English'?! Likewise, whether Jews were perceived as having a constructive or destructive influence in the economy through speculative trading, such as in the little studied South Sea Bubble, the very facts of their visibility and leading roles were readily, publicly denounced.??

To be sure, there was a separation of Sephardim and Ashkenazim, but it was not based on as rigid criteria of wealth and yichus as is often claimed. To no small extent, the Jews at the extreme ends of the social spectrum were judged by conventions and stereotypes that they found ready-made: not only was the Shylock myth in place before the return of the Jews, but the vagabond thief type, who spoke a bizarre 'cant' also emerged on the English scene before real live Jews entered the stage." But the myth of Sephardim, as elite, avant-garde, and untouchable for the most part holds firm, in England and beyond. As Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi has written, academic history, such as that of Endelman and Katz, seems to have had little influence on popular consciousness,* as 'the romance of Spain'?

served and continues to serve Anglo-Jewry as a means to distance itself from its East European origins, and aspects of its past which might have served as the seed-bed for persecution. Ace Endelman details, whether Ashkenazi or Sephardi, Jews engaged primarily in buying and selling old clothes and other secondhand goods; they were 'peddlers and hawkers' and became especially prominent as

?! Frank Felsenstein, p. 53.

72 HP Stokes, p. 77; see Edward Chancellor, Devil Take the Hindmost: A History of Financial Speculation, op. cit.

23 Thomas Harman, The Groundworks of Conny-catching; the manner of their Pedllers-French, and the means to understand the same, with the cunning flights of the Counterfat C John Danter, London, 1579; Juan Hidalgo, Romances de Germanta: Vocabulano por la order of the abc (1609); Captain Charles Johnson (i.e. Captain Alexander Smith), To general history of the lives and adventures of the most famous highwaymen, murderers, stre bers, etc. from the famous Sir John Falstaff to the Reign of K. Henry IV, 1339-1773, Olive Payne, London, 1736, pp. 9, 373, 384; see Michael Berkowitz, Unmasking Counter-history: An Introductory Exploration of Criminality and the Jewish Question', im The Criminal and His Scentists in the Nineteenth Century, eds. Richard Wetzell and Peter Becker, The German Historical Institute and Cambridge University Press, New Vork, forthcoming.

Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1996.

3% Ismar Schorsch, p. 47.

'pickpockets and pugilists'.”"' But all of this could possibly be spun into a seemingly seamless tale, restyled for current fashions, and eas-ily exported. At times it could prove to be as combustible as the furniture warehouse in Whitechapel, which provides the pretext for John LeCarré's Tailor of Panama. 1 do not mean to paint a counter-conspiracy of antisemitism as a mirror of Jewish conspiracy theories, but to instead show that sometimes the unkindled material of others cpochs may have some role far beyond their own limited histories, and might influence discourses of Jews and criminality in unprepared dictable ways.

7° Jews of Georgian England, ch. 5.

Eitan

“Für uns ist kein Platz, kein Amit, kein eitler Titel da... und damit sind wir ausgeschlossen aus der Gesellschaft...” wrote Rachel Levin-Varnhagen to her friend Paulina von Wiesel on March the IO0th, 1810.! Rachael, perceptive of contemporary extremist and radical incitements, enables us to witness the magnitude of hatred and the increased tension between Jews and Germans followed by an agonizing sobriety for her, as a woman, a Jew, and most of alla human being.

But it is the remarkable letter she wrote at the end of August 1819, during the 'Hep-Hep' riots to her brother, David, who is conceivably a landmark in the new practice of Jew hatred adopted by current anti-Jewish actors, the academic circles, professors and students alike.

The Gleissnerische Neuliebe zur christlichen Religion ... zum Mittelalter mit seiner Kunst, Dichtung und Greuel, hetzen das Volk zu dem einzi-gen Greuel zu dem es sich noch an alte Erlaubniss erinnert, aufhet-zen there! Judensturm ... Die Professoren Frles) und Rü(hs), und wie sie heissen. Ar(nim), Br(entano), 'Unser Verkehr', and noch hôhere Personen mit Vorurteil. This is not Religion hass: It lies in its nature CRD. .

Rachels' accurate observations narrate some of the then current dis-positions chosen by certain members of the intellectual elite, the 'Bildungshürgertum”* and the radical wing of the new German stu-tooth movement, the 'Burschenschaft'. Six years after the glorified “Wars of Liberation', the German enlightened bourgeoisie was per-plexed: the confidence in liberal and democratic ideas was under-undermined by the rise of Romantic nationalism and Teutonic chauvinism.

! H. Arendt, Rachel Varnhagen, London, 1957.

J. Katz, 'The Hep-Hep uprisings of 1819 in their historical context-toric'”, Zion, 1973 (in Hebrew).

K. Fleischenfeldt, Hg., Rahel--Brigfe und Tagebücher aus Verstreuten Quellen, München, 1983.

J. Kocka, Hgb., Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert, Veil 4, München, 1989.

5 P. Wentzke, Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschafi, Heidelberg, 1916.

This ambivalence is dramatically evident in the disoriented and bewildered approach towards the Jews as a cultural other. Apparently, the rise of German national Pietism, the overwhelming passion of inflamed Romanticism and the divining of the Germans as a genus uine 'Volk', were not only accompanied by a massive incitement and vigorous hatred against the Jews but likewise witnessed the gradual emergence of Jews into the German cultural scene. Ludwig Büorne and Heinrich Heine illustrates the discrepancy perfectly.

Rachel, who sets herself a good example for this pattern, pre-sumably chose the German word 'Judenthum' and not 'Juden' as a consequence of the frightening hindsight she experienced herself. She realizes, that the new hatred is no longer solemnly performed against the Jewish religion 'es st mcht Relinionhass' was her distinction, but supposedly as a declaration of war against 'das Judentum –aimed at Judaism as a foreign cultural entity.

On the surface, it seemed as if the riots were no more than a repetition of medieval pogroms a reserved attitude taken by most contemporary Jews. They either chose to relate to the violent attacks in a conservative apologetic context or to disregard them as minor marginal occurrences. (I refer especially to the Jewish journal ∗Sulanuth where the riots were not even mentioned).

Among the numerous historians who chose to associate themselves with the 'Hep-Hep' episode, Sterling,” Katz' and Rohrbacher∗ have focused on economic, social and political agitation embedded in the customary icons of Jew-hatred. Relying on 'Freitschke.' Sterling brief mentioned that some students supported the riots, but the reader is not granted further information. In general she argued that the riots were an example of the 'displacement of social protest' into the forms of violent anti-Semitism. In his famous article 6f 1973 Katz observed. that traditional anti-Judaism incited some of the radical students who thing to participate in the pogroms. But he preferred to emphasize a political agitation in the summer of 1819, which marked a peak

° E. Sterling, 'Anti-Jewish Riots in Germany–A Displacement of Social Protest??, Historna fudaica, Vol. 12, 1950.

7 J. Katz, 'The Hep-Hep uprisings of 1819 in their historical context-toric”, thid.

∗ S. Rohrbacher, 'Die Hep-Hep Krawalle und der Ritualmord des Jahres 1819 zu Dormagen', in: Erb., R., Rohrbacher, S., Hgb., Gewalt im Biedermeier, Frankfurt am Main, 1993.

∗ HV Treitschke, History of Germany in the 19th Century, London, 1975.

in the constitutional debate in some German States. Many students took part in protests and rallies related to the implementation of a constitution. Katz associated these incidents with the acceleration of the 'Hep-Hep' riots all over Germany.!°

Even though one should not ignore the important significance of former studies, Î would like here to explore the 'Hep-Hep' as a crucial elaboration in portraying the Jews as a cultural other.

The extensive role played by some scholars and academics that gained vast dominance and influence over the literate society was elevated by the sophisticated use of collective memory. Unaware of modern methods that try to explore how societies remember, and long before remembrance would become a necessary instrument in historical research, the Hep-Hep remarkably illustrates the methods by which societies learn how to remember.

According to Loewenthal, '"the memories and historic identity of the Jews remained rigidly evident in the German consolidated rec-olection, even during the process of Jewish emancipation. The Jews were always looked at from behind the esoteric Ghetto walls—sub-stantial as well as virtual.

The incorporated Ghetto remembrance became part of the collec-ve bourgeois retrospective and was absorbed into its Weltanschauung by means of critical depiction that introduced the Jews to native Germans as a perilous foreign cultural entity, one to be shut away behind 'walls' of one sort or another.

During the 'Aufklärung',* the Jews felt they could either mend their ways, remain Jews, or they could assimilate completely into German society. Unfortunately, they and some others enlightened Germans failed to conceive that these so called 'novel solutions were no longer satisfactory enough in the 18th century fin-de-siecle.

As the French revolutionary troops advanced into the Holy Roman Empire, succeeded by the Napoleonic armies, it seemed obvious, that German bourgeois society must undertake most significant change: namely—it became a champion of Romantic anti-French cultural nationalism. Under these circumstances, 'Bildung' as an educational

10 J. Katz, 'The Hep-Hep uprisings of 1819 in their historical context-toric', thtd.

M. Lowenthal, The Jews of Germany, Philadelphia, 1936.

2 CW Dohm, 'Uber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden', in Hôxter, J, Quellenbuch zur jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur, Frankfurt am Main, 1935, pp. 192-193.

and cultural theory lost some of its rudimentary human and peda-
gogic virtues and was conspicuously pursued by some German nation-
alists as the sole cultural significance of the genuine German Volk.'

One of the most remarkable pieces of evidence can be found in
the distinct approach of the zealous champion of Jewish emancipation
tion—Wilhelm von Humboldt. As a faithful Prussian civil servant
and an enlightened philosopher, Humboldt believed that the Jews
should be granted civil rights if they would follow certain amendment-
ments. In his famous 'Enkourf zu einer neuen Constitution für die Fuden'*
(A proposal for a new constitution for the Jews") he associated his
enlightened human 'Weltanschauung' with the ghetto memory, when

He offered the Jews:

Die Mittel zu der Umwandlung dieser Lage sind nun freilich, wie man
leicht einsieht, in Beziehung auf jene drei Hauptsachen: Verschmelzung,
Zertrmmerung ihrer kirchlichen Form und Ansiedlung'"

(absorption, fundamental religious modifications and colonization.
But his polemic is even more important, when read in contemporary
porary context:

... S0 geht man von einem gewissen Begriff von ihrem Charakter, in
dem nun aber, genau genommen und dem Grade nach fast kein
Staatsman mit dem andern übereinkommt aus: diesen Charakter will
man durch künstliche Mittel verändern.°

The challenges to explore the obligatory methods of how to achieve
an entre change upon the Jewish character or to be confronted with
rigid definitions of German citizenship, were kindly left to others.
Goethe sets another good example. Graetz'" argued that the famous
Gocthe to a certain extent expanded the contemporary 'Stimmung',
the atmosphere, of anti-Jewish resentment, which diffused into the
literate circles. Some of his writings are inclined to reveal a kind of
misunderstanding in the distinction between the Jewish religion and
Judaism. While caressing his carly Frankfurter memories from the

5 GL Mosse, The Nationalization of the Masses, New York, 1975.

Humboldts Werke, Schrifien zur Politik und zum Bildungswesen, Bd., 4, Darmstadt,
OSCAR MIE

SN p05.

15 Jhid., p. 98.

7 H. Grätz, Geschichte der Juden, Bd. 11, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 232, 300.

Judengasse' and the legendary stories he perceived about the 'Fettmilch? uprisings Of 1614," Goethe admitted in 1811 that:

.. of the Eindruck, den ich in früher Jugend in meinem Verstand vom Judentum empfing, war mir ein mehr erschreckender. Die Gaststätten The engine and the ends of the Judenstadt are always visible und unverständliche Erscheinungen, die meine Phantasie beschäftigen, und ich konnte gar nicht begreifen, wie dies Volk das merkwürdig- Ste Buch der Welt aus sich heraus geschrieben hat.!°

Conceivably good reason perhaps, why he chose to exclude them from the new state he invented in 'Wilhelm Meister'.

But let us not forget ——Goethe did not write for the common pub- lic. His superior and sophisticated tongue prevented many, even among the literate, from reading his writings. Though he dd inspire the arbitrators of opinion: professors, students and philosophers.

These new prophets of German Cultural Nationalism prospered indeed in the precious establishments praised and cherished by Fichte and Humboldt as the highest venture of the German spirit—the German Universities. They define higher education and the German academic youth as the exclusively desired salvation for the founda- tion of a new Germany.” The successful inauguration of the newly opened University of Berlin in 1809 marked, in the spirit of its founders, a crucial transformation in the imminent interaction between the acquisition of a higher education and the interests of the Prussian State. It was founded in the spirit of the two famous Protestant uni- versities in northeastern Germany, Halle and Göttingen that expe- nothing a severe decline due to the French occupation?

The significant rise of German universities is evident after the thirty years' war, when some local rulers chose to elevate the importance tance of academic degrees by granting social and economic advan- tages to their graduates, in order to meet their land's needs.

During the 18th century, the identification of university and state

8 CR Friedrichs, 'Politics or Pogrom? The Fettmilch Uprising in German and

Jewish Society', Central European History, Vol. 19, 1986.

E. Beutler, Hgb., ÿohann Wolfgang Goethe, Gedankausgabe, 'Gespräch mit dem Banker Simon von Lämel aus Prag im Juni 1811', Zürich, 1974, Bd. 22, pp. 638–640.

2 H, Haupt, P. Wentzke, Hg., Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschchte der Burschenschafien und der deutschen Einhaitsbewegung, Heidelberg, 1927.

2 Humboldt, Schnifien, pp. 113–120.

and the implementation of cameral studies led to a controversy over the autonomy and liability of the universities. 'The dispute challenged the rights the States possessed to intervene in the academic curriculum ula and called for its reconsideration. The cry for academic freedom supported the foundation of two outstanding universities. The first Picüistic University of Halle was founded in 1694 and the enhght- encd Gôttingen opened in 1734. A considerable proportion of the- ology graduates, whose personal perception was based upon the importance of self-salvation and awareness through the experienced revelation of the 'Bildung', constituted the German Pietistic movement- ment in northeastern Germany. The solid bond between Pietism, higher education and national identity provided the printed language with writings which urged disciplined individuals to explore their own deliverance in order to fulfill their disposition or, in due time, national objectives.?

By 1789 some universities had unexpectedly gained additional importance. Although Schiller accused the French Revolution as:

Des Versuch franzôsischen Volkes, sich in seine heiïligen Menschenrechte Einzusetzen, uns eine politische Freiheit zu erringen, hat bloss das Unvermügen und die Unwürdigkeit desselben an den Tag gebracht, und nicht nur dieses unglückliche Volk, sondern mit ihm auch einen beträchtlichen Teil Europas, und ein ganzes Jahrhundert, in Barbarei and Knechschaft zurückgeschleudert.?*

Most of the German hterate public paid little or no attention to the revolutionary occurrences in France. Onls a few leading intellectu- als like Hôderlin, Gôrres, Schlegel, Klopstock, the Mainzer Jakobiner and others, praiscd their outbreak. For very short while some even dared to fancy the idea, that the elimination of the Old Regime would induce cultural and social change alongside the east bank of the Rhinc. Although outnumbercd, the authorities were faced for the first time with the threat of pro-revolutionary university reforms and immediately decided to undertake restrictive measures: supervision

sion and inspection of students as well as curricula. The additional decision made by the French invaders to close and merge manv uni-

? SR Turner, 'Universitäten', in Hammerstein, N., Hg., Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte, Bd. 3, München, 1996.

F. Schiller, 'Über die Franzôsische Revolution', in Hass, EH, Hg., Die deutsche Literatur, Sturm und Drang, Klassik, Romantik, Bd. 2, München, 1966, p. 1539.

versities led to a dramatic decline in the total number of students registered.

Almost two decades later, at the beginning of the 19th century, they had emerged again—bearing a new political creed."

The long years of desperate humiliation under the French occupation paton brought painful hindsight and an agonizing sobriety, which forced the individual and the community to crave for redemption. Under the subordination of enigmatic professors, charismatic philoso-phers and ardent teachers, who were seen as the new prophets of German nationalism and its fierce spiritual shepherds, a new prospect was anticipated for the German Volk.

'The political arena introduced its renowned actors: Father Jahn, Arndt, Fichte, Rühs, Fries and many others who were worshiped as the new founding fathers of the rising German nation.

As a tribute to their academic titles and the homage paid by them followers, they deliberately chose to exploit the public's desperate admiration and create a new kind of 'Herrschaft'.

The German language was mobilized to provoke the depths of oblivion and to stimulate hidden realms of fantasy through the use of new definitions. A modern terminology was designed to conceive a new identity: Native Germans were not comparable with any other people; they were the one and only Christian German Volk. Their language was not just another ordinary way of communication, but exclusively unique in its inner truism and pure grammar, elevated to become the supreme heritage of the righteous people. Tea Fatherland was the sole embodiment of primeval landscape, sacred traditions and divine legacy incorporated in the noble, uncontaminated nated and divine German 'Urvolk'.

The implementation of a Volkish ideology as a precondition for being acknowledged as genuine Germans deprived the Jews from being accepted into German society accordingly. Regardless of their vast efforts to become accustomed to and assimilate into the German

society—the Jews were doomed to be remembered and remain as an assembly of cultural others.

The first to detect the change were the ardent students of the Urburschenschaft movement. These frustrated veterans of the Napo- leonic wars whose patriotic vision was an odd mixture of romantic

CE McClelland, State, Society and University in Germany, Cambridge, 1980.

chauvinism, Teutonic militarism and a remarkable absence of politics ical potency, were notorious for settling controversies by a duel. Although anxious to be portrayed as enlightened and modern, it is assumed that they had never abandoned their old habits: Disputes had to be resolved violently. And as McAleer points out:

.. this quasi-mystical idea of Volksgeist is expressed not in language and letters but in the act of ritual violence."

Apparently, these 'Schauspiele der Gewalt' as they are called, dom- inantly illustrates their exclusive interpretation of Fichte and Arndt's introduction to Jewish hatred.

Fichte argued that since the Jews chose to define themselves as an outlandish entity that preferred to be detached from the body of mankind, they lacked, accordingly, moral virtues and a sense of free- dom. He accused them for intümidating humanity, for being selfish and exhibiting overwhelming hatred.

His distinction might uncover a possibility, that ms extreme nation- alst followers could freely interpret his thought as a certain valida- tone of a delegiimuzing of the Jews as human beings. a bitter accusation that would apparently be terminated in action.

Arndt's alleged pre 'Zionistic' idea can be ironically seen as a quest for transfer in this context:

So glaube ich immer, dass, wenn man die Juden, so viele ihrer sind, All of these countries are brought together, and they are in the best countries of the wor eingäbe und zu ihnen sagete: Nun, frisch! Richtet euch ein und macht Euch wieder zu einem freien Volke und Staate! But I don't know Tüchtiges und orders Volk würde.?°

Repugnant of both authentic and converted Jews, he alerted the

public against anticipated horrors 1f the Jews remained on German soil.

Arndts ideology represented at significant shift in the traditional anti-Jewish hatred and the emergence of modern racial anti-Semitism. Although his perception was sull rooted in Christian cultural elements, which to his opinion were fundamental for the existence of German national society, he revealed a fundamental contradiction. How could a technical act of assimilation, at gencrous opportunity he was will-

∗ K. McAleer, Duelling, New Jersey, 1994, p. 2.
∗ EM. Arndt, Die Ewigkeit des Volkes, Leipzig, 1934, p. 41.

ing to grant the Jews, guarantee to total acceptance into the German Volk?

Prof. Friedrich Rühs from the New University of Berlin challenged Arndts ideology one step further. In 1816, he denied the Jews anything human rights not only by virtue, since they could not be identified with Germanic traditions and heritage, but also because they, following Fichte's formula constituted 'A state within a state'.

Die Juden kônen wohl untertanen unserer Regierung, aber als Juden, nie Bürger in unserem Volke werden, denn sie wollen als Juden ein eignes Volk seyn, trennen sich also dadurch notwendig von unsrer deutschen Volksgemeinschaft?'

and therefore suggested that:
... Diese Kaste mit Stumpf und Stiel ausgerottet werde . .

The use of profane terminology and the employment of racist elements, such as the anti-Jewish expressions he used, indicate his revival on the subordination of character and nationalism.

His colleague, the notorious Jakob Fries from Heidelberg and later Jena, gave Rühs tremendous support. In 1816 he emphasized:

....If the picture does not bloss in the Volk, the picture does not appear in the state... Die grundgesetze der jüdischen Religion sind zugleich die grundgesetze ihres staates . .

His perception on Jews distinguished quite clearly between religion

and culture:

... Nicht den Juden, unseren Brüdern, sondern der Judenschaft er-
klären wir den Krieg.. .*

and therefore it is necessary
.… of the Judenschaft baldmôglich ein Ende zu machen ..

Upon the vast use of alleged physical expressions against the Jews,
one may wonder: What if assimilation was no longer a satisfactory

27 F. Rühs, 'Uber die Ansprüche der Juden an das Deutsche Bürgerrecht',
Heidelbergische Jahrbücher der Literatur, No. 16&17, Heidelberg, 1816, p. 241.

2 they Price

ouch Fries, Über die Gefährdung des Wohlstandes und Charakters der Deutschen durch de
Juden, Heidelberg, 1816, p. 3.
DIE ND".
 Ibid., p. 11.

scttlement for Germanizing the Jews?—to which extent would be violent
coercive methods dominate the scene from now on?

Amazingly enough, the first depicted victim to be sacrificed for
the sake of the German nation was not even a Jew but the famous
playwright, journalist, author and secret advisor to the Russian czar,
August von Kotzebue. Kotzehbue was a favorite German middle class
writer whose dramas portrayed their daily lives. His successful plays
were performed in front of packed halls and a devoted audience
who enjoyed the light, unsophisticated plots, while contemporary crit-
ics showed an almost unanimous disapproval of the writer and his
plays. 'The envious Goethe condemned Kotzebue's writings as poor
and pretentious, lacking sufficient aesthetic German and grammar
and accused him of contaminating people's minds with shallow and
superficial arguments. The Romantics stigmatized his dramas as being
immoral and discredited his comedies for bearing an anti-national
predominance of French 'Boulevardtheatre'. Although it sounds odd.
Kotzebue was incriminated and portrayed as a traitor, for the sake of
of the German nation. His service as a secret advisor to the Czar,
to whom the German students referred since 1807 as Napoleon's
collaborator and later on as a reactionary, did not contribute to his
cause. Even though no one attempted to inquire into his real polit-
ical beliefs, Kotzebue was easily represented as a notorious pro-

French champion and an undeniable intimidator of the public and the nation. The indiscriminate inclination, which identified literarv with political criticism and personal faultfinding. generated to process of demonizing. Unfortunately for Kotzcbue, the only critic who dared to dissociate himself from personal abuse and to modify practice from critical didactic and political analysis was Ludwig Bôrne. Bôürne did not hesitate to attack some of Kotzebue's dramas as totally unsuitable own but conversely recommended others whole-heartedly. Hey cven implied that Kotzebue was abused and misjudged by his fel- low Germans, though obviously, as a Jew, his voice was lost to the radicals.

Apparently, when romantic philosophers were crowned as moral guides cchoimg the so-called authentic voices of the German nation, Kotzebue was a perfect straw-man playing into their hands. Tea enlightened Kotzebue did not match the new Germany. He wasn't inclined to realize that brutal nationalism had taken over the 'Aufklärung' and that correcting the Jews- -as he cagerly believed in was no longer the preferred solution. Kotzebue as to personal

enüty was deprived from occupying any literary significance and was turned into an all-German national threat. In the spirit of the tra- ditional Catholic excommunication, Kotzebue had to be expelled from the body of German national citizens. He had to be sacrificed for the sake of the 'Volk'.??

His execution was performed as a 'mise en scene' by the impas- sioned nationalist Karl Ludwig Sand, an excited member of the Burschenschaft's radical wing and a close adherent of the extremist leader Ludwig Follen, the chief of the underground 'Black Students' from Giessen. Sand, a zealous Protestant, inspired by a pietistic doc- trine, which obliges him to accomplish his moral sublimity through an exquisite deed, assassinated the playwright whom he recognized as a fundamental adversary of the German cause.

Sand perfectly illustrates the 'Zeitgeist': His family lived in the city of Hof, not far from the French headquarters in Beireut. They suffered tremendously and lost most of their assets during the long years of French domination. As to child, Sand absorbed the hatred towards the invaders and was determined to retahate for the long years of humiliation. Known for being an attentive student in Erlangen and Tübingen, he emerged as a radical pietistic martyr who combined his personal agonies with what he thought to be his national mission.

Kotzebue, a native German himself, was brutally murdered by someone who never actually knew him, only because some of his well educated contemporaries were not inclined to accept his insensitivity positiveness towards modern ideas.

Thereupon, it seems appropriate to investigate the opening preludes of the 'Hep-Hep' riots that followed half a year later as an ongoing process which will reach its climax in a new drama, written, directed and played by those beloved actors: The academics-students and professors alike.

Die Freiheit heiBet deutsche Freude,

Die Freiheit führt den deutschen Rheyn.

For what you see and what to do,

Das klammt durch jede deutsche Brust,

To find out more, Ben Tod zu werben,

Ist deutsche ehre, deutsche Lust!
Heinrich von Kleist, 1809

32 LF Thompson, Koézebue, Paris, 1928. F. Stock, Kotzcbue im Literarischen Leben der Goethezeit, Düsseldorf, 1971. G. Heidemann, Karl Sand, Hof, 1985.

PARADIGMS OF JEWISH ANTISEMITISM: ANATOLE FRANCE AND MARCEL PROUST

Sam W. Bloom

In In Search of Lost Time, the link between Anatole France and Marcel Proust takes form most apparently in the character of the novelist Bergotte for whom Anatole France served, at least, partly, as a model (others have suggested such 'keys' as Ruskin, Anna de Noailles, Renan, Jules Lemaître and Edmond de Polignac). Stylistically, Bergotte shares Anatole France's early preference for the invocations and apostrophic turns of phrase that account for the authors' soft and harmonious timbre (1, 1144)! To more glaring indication that Anatole France served as a key for Bergotte resides in the physical resemblance between the fictional writer and his Proustian counterpart. In the first volume of In the Shadow of Young Girls in Flower, it is through the good graces and connections of Odette Swann that the narrator meets his literary idol at luncheon she gives. The fictional Marcels disappointment mirrors that of Proust when he first met Anatole France. In the Recherche, the narrator describes the event as great magic act by which, when Odette introduces the master by name, he is transformed suddenly into rather mediocre physical specimen, this being entirely at odds, in Marcels mind, with his literary talent. Thereafter, the narrator focuses on Bergotte's nose described

as snail-shaped, and continues naively--certainly in terms of Proust's conception of literature--to ponder the disparity between the actual writer and the work. Such was the young Proust's reaction to Anatole France's physical appearance when he was introduced to him in his Mistress Madame Arman de Caillavet's salon (1889).° (In his defense, Anatole France aged quite gracefully, not only outliving Proust, but becoming more comely with age.)

! AJ references to In Search of Lost Time are from the 4-volume Pléiade edition. tion under the direction of Jean-Yves Tadié, Gallimard, Paris, 1987-1989. The roman numeral indicates the volume which is followed by the page number.

2 Jean-Yves Tadié, Marcel Proust, Gallimard, Paris, 1996, p. 121.

During the thick of the Dreyfus Affair, Anatole France and Marcel Proust shared more than a literary affinity. Proust would collect signatures at Anatole France's behest in a show of support for Georges Piquart, an officer in the general staff, later arrested himself as a result of his effort to exonerate Dreyfus. But even as novelists, both authors relate some of the more intricate configurations of what Proust described as the ever changing social kaleidoscope. 'The present paper intends to deal with one such dynamic that interested both authors, namely the phenomenon of Jewish anti-Semitism. Given the degree to which Anatole France informs the character of Bergotte in the Recherche, it seems significant, rather than just coincidental, that the character of Albert Bloch first introduces the hero of the Search for Bergotte's novels. For Albert Bloch displays the symptom toms of what recent criticism has labeled as Jewish self-hate. More than a few scholars have boldly shied away from asserting that this self-hate reflects the attitude of the half-Jewish author of the quasi-autobiographical Search. Through Bloch, they argue, Proust exorchisels his Jewish identity.

Yet, at the same time, one cannot avoid noticing the same elements of social satire in Proust that were already present in Anatole France's Æhistoire contemporane, a 4-volume novel written from 1897 -1901, understood from to serialized story set against the backdrop of current events. The main protagonist, Lucien Bergeret, a literature professor latine, serves as France's mouthpiece in the seeming endless manichean battle between intolerance and Voltarian rationalism.

In the Recherche, the most remarkable instance of Bloch's anti-Semitism arises during the episode in In the Shadow of Young Girls in Flower in which Bloch complains of the strong Jewish presence in the Norman resort town of Balbec perhaps itself a homonvmous double for the coastal town in Lebanon. Upon exiting his changing tent,

Bloch makes the following remarks and adds a mock German-Jewish accent worthy of Balzac's Nucingen:

You can't take two steps without [...] encountering Jews, he said [...] a voice. I am not, on principle, irreducibly hostile to Jewish nationality, but here there is a plethora of them. All you hear is: 'Say So, Apraham, chai fu Chakop'. It's like being on Aboukir Street.

* Bernard Brun, 'Drafts and Confusion: Proust and Anti-Semitism.' Literature, 70 (May 1988), pp. 110-128. Albert Sonnenfeld, 'Marcel Proust: Anti-Semite?' The French Review, 62, nos. 1-2 (October and December 1988).

As the hero and Saint-Loup only happen upon Blochs tirade against 'the swarm of Israelites that infested Balbec, they are understandably surprised to discover that the overheard voice belongs to Bloch, whose name and appearance leave few in the dark as to his ethnic origins (IL, 97). Only after successive instances of this type of behavior in the Recherche, does the reader begin to see the pattern of Jewish anti-Semitism. Bloch's Catholic daughter will ineffectively try to hide her Jewish background by pronouncing her father's name with the Germanic sounding Blo{ch] in the same way that Gilberte's cHorts to obfuscate her father's Jewishness will backfire when she says 'Svan' for 'Souan'. As Antoine Compagnon, among others, has shown, the alternating presence of an imperfectly omnicient narrator and a naive hero facilitate this progressive discovery. In this fashion-ion, the reader, the naive reader, at least, keeps pace, as it were, with the hero. So it is with the hero's deferred discovery of Charlus's homosexuality—although all the signs are present previous to the grand overture Of Sodom and Gomorrah.

The comedy of Bloch's assimilation culminates in his final appearance ance as a man of the world, Jacques du Rozier, the pseudonym that he ends up giving as his legal name—certainly not without irony for those familiar with the Marais section of Paris then and now:

An English chic had indeed completely transformed his appearance and They planed away everything that could be erased. The hair, once curly, Their hair, styled flat with a middle part, shone with cosmetics. The nose remained strong and red, but seemed rather swollen by some sort of a persistent cold which could explain the nasal accent he was spouting lazily wrote his sentences, for he had found, just like a hairstyle suited to her complexion, a voice to her pronunciation, where the nasality of yesteryear took on an air of disdain when articulating what went with the wings inflamed on his nose. And thanks to the hairstyle, the removal of the moustaches, the elegance of the type, the will, that Jewish nose disappears-

knows how almost straight a well-groomed hunchback appears. (IV, 33031)

The comic element, which incidentally conforms exactly to Henri Bergson's definition of the comic as predicated on transvestite, should not distract our attention from something more insidious. While Proust satirizes the pretensions of an upstart, a second generation Frenchman, and a mediocre writer, at that, the attention directed towards this hidden physical deformity points to the unstated view that Jewishness is an essential trait that no degree of assimilation will wash away. In this instance, Bloch hides his nose as a female

hunchback would hide her hump. Upon his first entry into the world, Bloch's posture is described thus: 'his body bent like a hyena, the nape of the neck tilted obliquely and spreading out in large 'salams' (IL, 477-8). The image of the hunchbacked and thus physically deformed Jew is just one timeless example of how he has been viewed as fundamentally flawed. While visual representations of the Wandering Jew or Shylock might first come to mind, we notice the same trait in Emile Zola's character of Zéphirin in Vérité (an allegory of the Dreyfus Affair that celebrates the triumph of rationalism over clergy icalism). And im Anatole France's Histotre Contemporaine, the half-Jewish, highly assimilated and blond duc de Bonmont is nevertheless also unable to get over the hump.

Notwithstanding what, in France, Zola, and Proust's defense, might be termed as something they saw as a necessary 'fictional truth', Anatole France deftly mocked the absurdities of a certain brand of Jewish assimilation that he chronicled during the Belle Époque. Madame de Bonmont née Wallstein, for example, has the unfortunate nate habit of falling in love with virulent anti-Semites. When she lover Joseph Lacrisse complains to her that her Austrian brother refuses to donate money to the French royalist cause, her reaction is muted. Anatole France comments: 'Elisabeth [de Bonmont] was anti-Semitic. She felt that she could not defend her brother without being inelegant Wallstein" (IL, 262). As with Marcel Proust, with Anatole France, the phenomenon of Jewish anti-Semitism surfaces in a manner that lacks immediate accompanying explanation. The explanation, nev-ertheless, may be found elsewhere in the narrative. In Sodom and Gomorrah L of the Recherche, Proust partly explains the psvchology of antisemutic Jews in order to explain that of homophobic homosexu-als. According to the narrator, the homosexual like the Jew will go to great lengths to disassociate himself with others who display the behavior and traits that he has taken considerable care to hide. This is out of a fcar of giving oneself away and exclaims why one might reply to an otherwise potentially gratifying proposition, 'For whom do I "Do you take it, sir?"

Likewise, if it were not for prior narrative explanation, Anatole

∗ Aïl citations to Anatole France's Histoire Contemporaine refer to Marie-Claire Banquart's 4-volume Pléiade Edition of his Complete Works, Gallimard, Paris, 1984-1994:

France's imstances of Jewish anti-Semitism might be seen as completely enigmatic. While Proust tends to allow the reader to infer Jewish antisemitism (with such indications as Bloch and Svan) or with the quizzical reactions of the hero/narrator, Anatole France presents his particular cases in apodictic terms. In the case of the prefect Worms-Clavelin's wife who helps her husband to promote certain Catholic interests behind his radical constituents" backs, she is described thus: 'Like all well-meaning Jews, she was anti-Semitic' (III, 183).

Elsewhere in a discussion with the royalist of Terremondre, Lucien Bergeret discounts the latter's anti-Semitism by pointing out the Jews gift of assimilation. He sees Jews as '... the most... 'as plastic and malleable as there is in the world,' so much so that he wagers that certain Jews will even succeed in the anti-Semitic factions of the Belle Époque (HI, 143). Bergeret, furthermore, counters any argument-ment of incompatibility between the French and Jewish people with the contention that, '...the daughters of our Jewish financiers marry today the heirs of the greatest names of Christian France-enne' (III, 142). This would explain why in L'Ile des pingouns, which was primarily a satirical recounting of the Dreyfus Affair (1908), France writes of a weekly Catholic revival meeting intended for the nobility: '...the beautiful Jewish baronesses cast their splendor there, for the Jewish baronesses of Alca (that is, of Pinguinia) were Christian ennesm(lV.ol9#).

In Time Regained, Proust relates the same perception of a stag-gering number of mixed marriages of this sort. Observing a spec-tacular air raid on Paris, Saint-Loup and the hero pass their time imagining worldly notes that might follow up this unusual type of performance: 'Recognized: the Duchess of Guermantes superb in nightshirt, the indescribable Duke of Guermantes in pink pajamas and bathrobe, etc., etc." Saint-Loup adds rather oddly:

"I'm sure," he told me, "that in all the big hotels they must have seen the American Jewish women in shirts, clutching the necklace to their withered breasts in pearls that will allow them to marry a penniless duke. The Ritz Hotel, Those evenings must resemble the Hotel of Free Trade. (IV, 338-339)

More than odd, the comment reflects Saint-Loup's disingenuousness. For not only does he squander part of his family fortune on the Jewish actress Rachel to whom he gives an extraordinarily expensive necklace, but the hero's friend winds up marrying Gilberte whose adoptive father's name, de Forcheville, and money nearly succeed

in washing away the memory of her paternal Jewish lineage. Yes, according to Anatole France, mixed marriages of this sort disprove the incompatibility of the Jews and Frenchmen, one might stull mfer from Proust, that they remain cause for resentment.

In essence, Anatole France, and to a certain extent, Proust, express the ideas of other nineteenth-century apologists for the Jews. In Israel chez les nations first published in la Revue des deux mondes in 1893, for example, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu writes:

The Jew adapts to everything and assimilates to everything. That is his primary ability. Mr. Taine would say... This ability to adapt is of great consequence in all things; the place already held in the world, These little Jewish children, emancipated yesterday, owe it, in large part, to her They must. The Jew adapts to everything; he is suitable for everything; he is found at "He was at ease everywhere, and consequently, he succeeded in everything."

Yet such adaptability is not without its pitfalls, not least of which is the Jewish anti-Semitism that Anatole France depicts. Afadam of Bonmont, because of his taste in anti-Semitic men, as it has been shown, has a particularly unhappy love life. Anatole France also illustrates how Jewish zeal for the indigenous religion of France has to tendency to backfire. The prefect Worms-Clavelin and his wife, both of Jewish origin, baptize their daughter and send her to Catholic boarding school. While winning the sympathy of one of his importance both consüutucnts, à Catholic socialite, he incurs the ire of the regional Catholic newspaper:

I asked the Jewish prefect Worms-Clavelin if it was true that he had raised his daughter in a convent. This Freemason having not replied to me, Because I will answer my own question. This honest Jew- The father, after having his daughter baptized, placed her in a children's home. Catholic tion.
Miss Worms Clavelin is in Neuilly-sur-Seine, raised by the ladies of the Precious Blood.
It's a pleasure to see how sincere these fellows are! (IL, 976, My emphasis)

Mme Worms-Clavelin's awe of the Catholic rite is reflected in her

fetishism for ecclesiastical objects d'art Which she is able to acquire at offensively low prices through the intermediary of Fabbé Guitrel. he latter has his designs on the archdiocese and counts on the first

∗ Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, The Jews and Anti-Semitism: Israel Among the Nations, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1893, p. 208.

fect's political backing. This leads his rival to level the charge against Abbé Guitrel of fencing items to his Jewish connections. (Jacques from Lacretelle's Silberman (1922), reflects that stolen and repossessed ecumenical art objects coming into the possession of Jews becomes somethmg of a commonplace at the turn of the century.) Politically, Mme Worms-Clavelin's indulgence for the reactionary contingent of France's Catholic clergy nearly causes her husband to lose his pre-fecture. She has favored the diffusion of the anti-Semitic and anti-Dreyfusard La Croix. At her husband's reproach, she replies, 'What is What do you want? As a Jew, I was forced to exaggerate my feelings. Catholics, this has served us well so far. (III, 297) France satirizes the intolerance of the Catholic institution but also shows an uncommon understanding for Mme Worms-Clavelin's zealotry. Her support of Za Croix is not only politically motivated but represents the overcompensation that she feels is needed to project a French, rather than a foreign, image. While Lucien Bergeret might admire the Jewish propensity for assimilation, France, like Proust, neverthe-less conveys that this assimilation will always be imperfect at best. We can only speculate, for instance, as to why Mme Worms-Clavelin, who is willing to prostitute herself for her husband's political career which is quite successful, insists on wearing dirty underwear.

Much like Voltaire, Anatole France grasped that those who hated Jews required little either in the way of theology or the pseudo-scientific side of antisemitism in order to justify their antisemitism. Anatole France exposes and satirizes the dogmatic irrefutabiity of Antisemitism and anti-Judaism. In The Amethyst Ring, Abbé Guitrel tries to reason with one of his parishioners, the duc de Brécé, as to why a converted Jew is no longer considered, at least religiously, Jews. Abbé Guitrel politely points out that, according to the doc-trines of the Church, his protector, Madame de Bonmont, née Wallstein, as a convert is no longer considered Jewish. What is more, the prior contends, through her chanite works Madame de Bonmont has distinguished herself as an exemplary Catholic. To these arguments ments, Madame de Bonmont's disenchanted neighbor, the duc de Brécé, retorts:

Father, I am familiar with your ideas. I respect them as I respect Your clothes. But, for me, a Jew is a Jew nonetheless. I don't

Don't make the distinction.

Your impressions... are legitimate in some ways... But you
you cannot ignore what the Church teaches, namely that the curse

The divine decree pronounced against the Jews perpetrates their crime and not their race.
and that the effects of this disapproval could not reach the...
(IL, 36)

Obviously not interested in the finer points of his religion, the duke
interrupts the prior with a remark on the quality of the ciborium
which Madame de Bonmont has donated to her family chapel. Aim
we as readers need only fill in the blank with converts.

In a segment of the serialized version of the Contemporary History
from Le Figaro, France depicts the same intractability of the 'reli-
gious' anti-Semite in the following dialogue between Lucien Bergeret
and a well-meaning person, Madame Césaire:

Madame Césaire: By the way! I read in a very well-written article that
Jesus was not Jewish, he was born in the land of the Gentiles, he was Aryan.
I suspected as much. But I was very glad to have confirmation.
Mr. Bergeret: You believe, madam, that Jesus was not Jewish.
So what do you do with the two genealogies through which Luc and Mathieu
link the Messiah to the lineage of David, for the fulfillment of
prophecies?

Madame Césaire: I'm not doing anything about it. I'm too happy that Jesus-
Christ is not a Jew. (III, 395-6)

In the Recherche, this sort of obtuseness is only rivaled, not surprised-
ingly, by the Duke of Guermantes. The latter explains that while his
cousin Mirepoix can brag as much as she wants about a genealogy
that she can trace back to the tribe of Levi before Jesus Christ, he
is proud to proclaim, 'that there has never been a drop of Jewish blood
in our family' (IL, 536).

In conclusion, it would be impossible to discuss Jewish anti-
semitism without discussing conventional antisemitism, as F have just
tried to point out. France and Proust seemed to understand both
types intimately. While, through their works, both authors show a
certain amount of confidence in Jewish assimilation, it is neverthe-
less undermimed by Jewish and Christian antisemitism as well as bv
morc than a few of the authors' own descriptive and rhetorical barbs.
At best, according to the indications France and Proust give us,

assimilation always remains an imperfect process.

IN BRIEF POLITICAL HISTORY OF FRANCE
IN THE 1890$S AND A HYPOTHESIS FOR
FUTURE INVESTIGATION

Robert Kaplan

Although readers of older surveys of French history might get the impression that the Dreyfus Affair was the focus of public attention from the arrest of Captain Dreyfus in late 1894 through the Rennes retrial in 1899, it was not. The public furor over the Dreyfus case only occurred between fall 1897 and spring 1898. In the Chamber of Deputies the case continued to be the focus of considerable attention tion for about a year after the general elections of May 1898. From 1894 to 1897, there is almost no mention of the Dreyfus case in the French newspapers.

Coverage of the 1890s in more recent surveys has come to include other subjects besides the Dreyfus Affair. Among them are anar- chism, socialism, anti-semitism, church-state relations, feminism, plans for social reform, the growth of consumer society, urban develop- ment, and cultural trends.! Sull lacking is an adequate presentation of the political narrative of the period. It is this political narrative that [shall present. I shall then offer for further investigation a hypothesis concerning the political narrative.

From the Third Republic's beginning in 1871 to the 1890s, the type of representatives elected to the Chamber of Deputies changed considerably. In the course of those years, members of the elite were replaced by members of the educated middle classes, 'new men', 'ob- scure provincials with mediocre culture'. In the 1890s, the Moderate and Catholic deputies represented the outlook of France's wealthy and favored limited government, protective of the rights of property, and distrusted the direct action of universal suffrage. The 'new men'

! Charles Sowerine, France Since 1870: Culture, Politics and Socuety, Palgrave, New York, 2001 is an example of this.

2? Robert Kaplan, Forgotten Crisis: The Fin-de-Siècle Crisis of Democracy in France, Berg, Oxford, 1995, p. 24

in the Chamber of the 1890s generally described themselves as Radicals or Socialist Radicals and tended to be Jacobin in outlook,

looking to the national bureaucratic government to solve the problems of France. Also by the 1890s, a small number of Socialists repre- feeling working class constituencies had been elected to the Chamber. Hardly sympathetic to the concerns of the very wealthy, Radicals advocated programs such as social insurance, labor legislation, pub- lic education, farm credits, and democratic tax reform. From the 1870s to the 18905, the number of Radicals in the Chamber increased steadily. The prospect of them taking control of government dis- mayed and frightened the members of the upper class.

Two patterns of majority coalition were possible in the Chamber: a center coalition with 'right' and 'left' extremes excluded or a 'left' or 'right' coalition with the division between left and right some- where near the center. [Appendix figs. 2a, b, and c] With the British House of Commons as model, the 'right' or 'left' pattern of coalition ton, called 'homogenous, was considered by the French as 'normal and suited for promoting coherent governmental pohey. 'The center or 'concentration' pattern coalition was considered to be a ministry of compromise, a temporary expedient to be employed by the Republic in ümes of danger, and was called to 'ministrv of Republican defense'.

The general elections of 1889, fought on the issue of Boulangisme, resulted in a center coalition of 'Republican defense' comprised of a majority of Moderates and a minority of Radicals. It was opposed by Monarchists and Catholics on the right and Boulangists and Socialists on the left. [Appendix fig. 3]

The general elections of 1893 saw a sharp drop in the number of monarchists, Catholics and Boulangists and a corresponding imcrease in the number of Moderates, Radicals and Socialists.* If a center coalition of Radicals and Moderates that existed prior to the elect- tions of 1893 had been created after them, it would have had a huge majority, proof positive that such as coalition of 'Republican defense' had lost its reason for being. The Republic was secure. Henceforth the Chamber would be divided between left and right: Moderates (on the right) and Radicals {on the left) would pursue their own goals.

Ibid, p. 24.
! Jhid.

The Chamber elected in 1893 was closely balanced between left (Radicals, Socialist Radicals and Socialists) and right (Moderates, Catholics 'rallied to the Republic, and recalcitrant Catholics) with a small group of deputies at the center, the 'Isambart' group, which was willng to support a government of either Right of Left. [Appendix fig. 4]

The Radicals in the 1890s were led by Léon Bourgeois, a man whose education, culture and manners were considerably above those of the typical Radical deputy ('Left-wing man, but courteous and cultivated")." At the urging of his friend since lycée Godefroy Cavaignac, an expert on financial and military matters, who himself sat with the Moderates in the Chamber, Bourgeois placed the graduated tax on total income (the progressive tax on total income) at the top of the Radicals' agenda. The 2 income tax was the main issue in the Chamber of Deputies between 1894 and 1897. Godefroy Cavai-gnac, the prime force in the campaign for it, was of an old Republican family of the highest social class. Highly respected, he was known as an intelligent and diligent worker with a stern, high morality.

In the 1890s, the graduated income tax meant something different from what it does today. Today income taxes are applied against virtually all incomes. In the 1890s, an income tax would be levied on a small fraction, perhaps two to five percent, of the wealthiest members of society. Understand to be a measure of social justice because it counterbalanced the regressive consumption taxes which raised the largest share of government revenues and thereby pro-moted, overall, proportionality of taxation to income, the tax on income had long been part of the Radical program. There is no reason to think that Cavaignac did not share in this way of think-eng. But observers at the time believed there had to be something more to explain the urgency with which he sought an 2tax on the income.

Though Cavaignac could not announce it publicly, T think it prob-able that he favored the tax as an efficient and powerful tool for raising revenue, an idea frequently expressed by contemporary experts on government finance. As an expert in military matters, Cavaignac understood that to keep up with Germany militarily the French

5 Jacques Chastenet, La République Triomphante, 1893–1906, Hachette, Paris, 1955, pp. 75, 85, 86.

government would have to spend a great deal of money and the graduated income tax would be an excellent fiscal engine for rais-ing it. In the 1894 and 1895 conversations Cavaignac held in his apartment with Léon Bourgcois, the leader of the Radicals, and Paul Doumer, their financial expert, when he had urged them to give priority to the ëmpôt, he had also kept informed them of the progress of the army's highly secret efforts to perfect the rapid fire field can-no that would give France a tremendous advantage over Germany but would cost an enormous amount to produce.°

The income tax was feared and loathed by the wealthy in France (as it was by the wealthy of the United States where, in 1894, an income tax of two percent affecting the wealthiest two per cent of the population had been enacted into law but blocked by the Supreme Court's ruling that it was unconstitutional). To the wealthy an income tax enacted by a government elected by universal suffrage was a long anticipated nightmare. If the 'many' could tax the few, they reasoned, the way would be open to ever-higher rates on the small, wealthy fraction of society. Given the unlimited capacity of the legislature to spend, there would be no limit on the amount it would want to tax. As long as the representatives of the many taxed the many, the many would have reason to limit taxing and spending. If, however, the many themselves did not have to pay the taxes they levied, there would be nothing to hold them back from destroying the wealth of the few by ever higher rates of taxation.'

Cavaignac and Bourgeois would have preferred that a coalition of Radicals and Moderates legislate the tax. [Appendix fig. 5a] Purpose this too was an impossibility given the unanimous Moderate opposition. Finally Cavaignac and Bourgeois settled on a coalition of Radicals and Socialists to enact the tax [Appendix figs. 5b and cl]. Cavaignac's quest for a coalition majority that would enact an impost on income Was reflected in the succession of cabinets after the 1893 elections. Each failure of the Moderates and Catholics to form a solid majority was followed by an attempt bv the Radical Leader Léon Bourgcois to form a majority first with Moderates and finally with Socialists—that would be able to enact an income tax [Appendix figs. 5a, b and c].?

° Kaplan, Forgotten Cnsis, pp. 26–41.
7 Ibid., pp. 68–74.
8 Jbid., pp. 49–55.

In November 1895 President Faure turned to Léon Bourgeois who formed the Third Republic's first homogenous ministry of the left, supported by Radicals, Socialist Radicals and Socialists. Its first priority, after approving a budget for 1896, was to enact an income tax income.

After quickly passing a budget, Bourgeois's ministry turned to enact year #income tax. Now it became a target of the fury of the haute bourgeoisie. Within parliament the Senate tried several different approaches to get rid of it. The press representing upper bourgeois opinion raged against the tax and the Radical ministry. General councils and chambers of commerce throughout France denounced the tax. To influence public opinion, financiers manipulated the price of the 3 per cent perpetual state annuity in which millions of Frenchmen

had invested savings and which, in the 1890s, was considered to be the barometer of the Bourse. During the Chamber debate on the tax, the price of annuities was made to drop sharply after an import so much speech advocating the tax and rising after a speech opposing it. Besides these day-to-day fluctuations, financial threats to produce a crash of the Bourse by refusing to renew the month-to-month loans made to speculators for the purchase of annuities bought on margin. At this time there was a large amount of three per cent “floating” rents in the market as a result of the law of July 1895 which lowered the maximum size of accounts in the Casse des Dépôts (bank for small savers) from 2,000 francs to 1,500 francs. As his savings accounts declined, the Caisses des Dépôts sold annuities which they had been required to hold in order to reimburse withdrawals. If the loans financing the 'floating' annuities bought on margin were not renewed, they would have to be sold, the market would be flooded and the price of rents would plummet. Also, by threatening not to renew the short-term treasury bonds purchased in blocks of hundreds of millions and mullions of francs that were used by the government to finance its operations and cover deficits, financiers threatened it with bankruptcy. Spokesmen for the bourgeoisie warned that by staying in office in defiance of the Senate, the Radical ministry was entering on a revolutionary path that could lead to the destruction of the Republic itself.

It was the Senate, finally, acting as the emergency brake it had been intended as when it was created in 1875, that forced Bourgeois

9 Jbid., pp. 58-79.

to resign by refusing to approve any new legislation or appropriations until the Radical ministry had left office. Now, in April 1896, never having been defeated in the Chamber, Bourgeois resigned and President Faure gave the Moderate Jules Méline the commission to form at ministry.

Méline organized the most inclusive cabinet of the right since the beginning of the 1893 legislature. Besides the Moderates and the ralhés (Catholics who had rallied to the Republic), it included the intrasigent Catholics who had held back from supporting the previous moderate ministries. [Appendix fig. 5e] The motivations of the Catholics of the 'far right' for supporting Méline were mixed. 'Fhev looted the income tax as much as the Moderates, and Méline promised that, although he could not repeal the anti-clerical laws they hated, he would not enforce them." Méline's ministry, charged with holding the fort against the return of another Radical ministry intent on the #income tax, lasted until after the general elections of May 1898.

Historians have generally misunderstood the outcome of the 1898 elections, claiming they did not significantlv change the balance of forces in the Chamber of Deputies.'" While it was true that the increase on the 'left' and decrease on the 'right' was not large as a result of those elections, they were enough to tip the balance of forces in the Chamber from a majority of the 'right' to a majority of the 'left'. As a result of the elections, Méline's coalition was no longer viable. In the immediate aftermath of the 1898 elections, although Moderate political leaders put on brave faces and claimed victory, foreign observers such as 7he Nation and the Literary Drgest of the United States reported the election accuratelv, the latter writ- ing that “The Democrats, if we can classify as such the parties of

10 Jbid., pp. 87–89.

Robert Tombs, France 1814–1914, Longman, London, 1966, p. 463; Rock Sorlin, Waldeck–Rousseau, A. Colin, Paris, 1966, p. 388; Herman Lebovics, The Alliance of Fron and Wheat in the Third Republic, 1860–1914—Onigins of the New Conservatism, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1988, p. 185; Chastenet, La République tnomphante, p. 122; Eric Cahm, The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics, Longmans London, 1996, pp. 104, 107; Maurice Agulhon, The French Republic 1879–1992, Basil Blackwell, London, 1993 [1990] p. 91; Madeleine Rebérioux 'A Radical Republic? 1898–1914 in Jean–Marie Mayeur and Madeleine Rebérioux, The Third Republic From Its Origins to the Great War, 1871–1914, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984 [1925] p. 188, among others.

the Left–Radicals, Socialist–Radicals and Socialists—have won a majority Of 10 in the Chamber'. Moderate leaders themselves acknowledge- edged this.” Bourgeois political leaders had long feared the coming of a Jacobin majority in the Chamber. Now the dreaded day had come. Soon after the elections, Méline left office.

Without the support of Cavaignac, the most popular leader in the Chamber, no cabinet could survive. Three attempts to form a cab inet without its support failed.'* Finally a Radical government headed by Adolf Brisson, in whom Cavaignac as Minister of War was the dominant figure, was formed. [Appendix fig. 6a] Cavaignac's agenda was first to resolve the storm of controversy over the Dreyfus con- viction and then enact an income tax.

In a move to end the controversy over the Dreyfus case, which he believed was damaging the Army, on 7 July 1898 Cavaignac reversed the previous government's policy of refusing to discuss the case and, in a speech to the Chamber, presented the three strongest pieces of evidence proving Dreyfus's guilt. The speech received a standing ovation and was voted by the deputies almost unanimously to be posted on the official bulletin board of each of France's roughly

36,000 municipalities. The Dreyfusards were crushed, their hopes for retrial dashed. Then, in the great reversal in the Dreyfus Affair, a review of the Dreyfus file ordered by Cavaignac himself revealed that one of the documents he had referred to in his Chamber speech was a blacksmith. As a result of Cavaignac's hard questioning, Colonel Henry of the army office of counter intelligence admitted responsibility bility for the forgery and was arrested, thus throwing into doubt all the evidence against Dreyfus. Insisting on Dreyfus's guilt and refusal ing to be party to a retrial, Cavaignac resigned from Brisson's cab- inet. But now, when reasonable men realized that a retrial was necessary, Cavaignac had lost the power to bring down the ministry by his resignation.

Soon Brisson himself resigned and was replaced by a stop-gap min- istry led by Charles Dupuy [Appendix fig. 6b] until June 1899 when René Waldeck-Rousseau established his long-lived ministry of Rep- ublican defense. [Appendix fig. 5c] That ministry provided the solution to the problem of how to ensure that a Chamber having a majority

2 Kaplan, Forgotten Cnisis, pp. 141-143.
DEP DD. LEP;

of deputies (Radicals, Socialist Radicals and Socialists) willng to approve legislation anathema to the wealthy, such as the impôt sur le income, would not enact it. This was the Dreyfusian political revolution. Waldecks solution was a center coalition. Unlike previous center coalitions which had included a majority of Moderates and a minority of Radicals, Waldeck's was understood of a preponderance of Radicals a few Socialists and a few Moderates. The 61 Moderate support- ers of Waldeck's cabinet, led by the banker Aynard, would function as a veto minority without whose support the cabinet would fall. [Appendix fig. 5c] To give it a raison d'être and promote longevity, Waldeck's government was presented as to the 'ministry of Republican defense,' the traditional term in France for a center coalition. Waldeck purposely designed his government [Appendix "Note on the structure of ministerial coalitions] to have a narrow majority. (His majority was twenty-five votes.) If all the Moderates had joined with all the Chamber's Radicals to support Waldeck's government. it would have had a huge majority of 'Republicans,' the theme of Republican defense would have made no sense at all, and the coalition- tion would have tended to divide between Radicals and Moderates, as it had after the 1893 general elections thereby opening the way to a coalition of the left that could enact an income tax. Waldeck's strategy required that there could not be so many Radicals and Socialists supporting his government that they themselves would constitutes a majority without the Moderate veto minority. Therefore Waldeck made sure to exclude the 'nationalist Jacobin deputies :rep-

resenting Paris) from his coalition. In the chamber of 1893–1898, Parisian Jacobins had been classified as Radicals (of the left). In the chamber of 1898–1902, they would be classified as 'nationalists' (of the night) although nothing in their philosophy or agenda for government had changed. [Appendix fig. 6c] With Waldeck's cabinet, Radicals gained access to the state patronage which they had sought but not received when Bourgeois had headed the Radical ministry in 1895 6. The change from Méline's 'right majority coalition to Waldeck's 'left concentration' coalition produced strong emotional side effects engendering great and long remembered bitterness as a consequence of the reconfiguration of alliances and oppositions. 'Fhe Moderates were divided by their leaders into two groups with the smaller {those around Aynard) serving as the veto minority in the Waldeck coalition üon and the larger group (whose members felt they had been betrayed by Waldeck) opposing the ministry. 'The Jacobins were also split.

Waldeck included in his provincial Radicals and Socialist coalition Radicals but excluded Parisian 'nationalists'. Catholics who had been alled with Moderates inside Méline's coalition would now be opposed to Waldeck's coalition. Méline had secured the support of intransigent Catholics by not enforcing anti–clerical laws. Méline had secured the support of intransigent Catholics by not enforcing the anti–clergy ical laws. Waldeck would push anti–clericalism as a useful issue for provincial Radicals in their hometowns and a matter of indifference to the Moderates of the veto minority. Socialists who had been allied with Radicals inside the Bourgeois ministry would (soon) be outside Waldecks center coalition. The results of this would become manifest–when Radical governments broke strikes in the early 19005. Traditionally in France a center coalition was called a government of 'Republican defense'. In keeping with this tradition, Waldeck–Rousseau's government was called one of 'Republican defense'. To make 'Republican defense' plausible, Waldeck manufactured some 'threats' to the Republic and perceived others which were otherwise invisible. Though his Radical allies went along with the charade, those Moderates and Catholics who had supported Méline (and Méline himself) but now found themselves outside Waldeck's majority ridiculed the supposed threats to the Republic as imaginary."* Historians, generally, have taken seriously Waldecks claim that he was defending the Republic" though they have been hard pressed to discern anything more threatening to it than a blow to the hat of the President of the Republic, an angry speech by the recently returned Captain Marchand, leader of the French expeditionary force to Fashoda, and the acquittal of the patriotic poet Paul Déroulède on charges arising from a farcical attempt at a coup at the funeral of President Félix Faure. If the conventional view is accepted, the absurd conclusion that once in office Waldeck 'defended the Republic' against the Moderates he led before the general elections must follow. With the Moderate veto–minority in place, Radicals would be

unable to effectively pursue an income tax. (Thus, when the cabinet led by the Radical Emile Combes decided to seek the tax in 1904, it was soon out of office.) The center coalition composed

4 Jbid., pp. 148–155.

5 Gordon Wright, France In Modern Times, Rand McNally, Chicago, 1960, p. 328; Alfred Cobban, A History of Modern France, vol. 3, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1965, p. 56; Agulohn, The French Republic, p. 94.

of a preponderance of Radicals and a veto minority of Moderates would be the structure of coalition majority for most of the rest of the Third Republic. With it Waldeck–Rousseau had brilliantly solved the problem of how to prevent a Chamber containing a majority of Jacobins and Socialists from threatening the vital interests of the wealthy few.

Based on the above sketch of France's political history in the 1890s, I shall now present a hypothesis about the genesis of the Dreyfus Affair for further investigation.

In spring 1897, with Méline having been in office about a year, general elections, held every four years, were approaching. Until the elections, Méline's hold on office was secure; if his majority was small it was solid. But if in the coming elections, even a few seats more went to the Radicals or Socialists, Méline's ministry would be finished. the barrier against the income tax would be gone, and the political nightmare of the haute bourgeoisie would be realized. Since the fall of the Bourgeois Radical ministry in April 1896, the issue of the tax had continued to be of high interest in the Chamber of Deputies. It promised to be a main issue in the coming elections.

What were the political leaders of the haute bourgeoisie to do? One approach was to prepare well for the coming general elections with good organization and substantial funding. Waldeck–Rousseau led this effort, raising money, reviving moribund Moderate campaign organizations, finding new ones, and coordinating them all.

In a speech to a large gathering of haute bourgeoisie at the luxury urious Hôtel Continental in Paris where they had come to support the campaign eflort, Waldeck described the coming elections as being 'of decisive interest and of exceptional gravity.!" Basic questions would be raised which could determine the future of Republican govern- ment and even of the country... The essential principles of the French Revolution would be challenged by dangerous demagogy". Waldeck explained that he was not alluding to what was known as the 'collectivist peril, nationalization of the mines, State acquisition

of all means of production. ...What was to be feared, he told him upper-class audience, was at 'disguised socialism,' at certain times official and fiscal. One of the gravest events of recent years, he said, 'had occurred when, not a private person, not even a minister,

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Kaplan, Forgotten Crisis, pp. 136-141.
1 Jbid., p. 140.

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but the president of the council of ministers himself [Léon Bourgeois] had formulated and expressed the opinion that the tax should be a means to re-establish equality in the battle between those who possess more and those who possess less. Al socialism," declared Waldeck 'is revealed in this formula'.

But might there have been another approach to dealing with the problem posed by the coming elections? As an alternative to winning an election in which the #income tax would be a central issue, haute bourgeois leaders might have sought to shift the ground of contention and raise a different issue for prominence in the public's mind. That issue, I proposed as a hypothesis, was the Dreyfus Affair. Several things suggest that this might have been done. One is that such a scheme would have made sense. Second was the fact that the haute bourgeoisie's control of organs of publicity and communication gave its leaders the tools for surring a public controversy such as was the Dreyfus Affair. Third was the fact the general elections which normally would have taken place in September 1897, four years after the elections of 1893, were postponed six months to May 1898 and that it was precisely during those six months that the Dreyfus Affair became at mammoth issue that absorbed the attention tion of the French public. * It was those six months that witnessed the vast outpouring of articles, posters, post cards, street-demonstrations, and duels inspired by the Dreyfus Affair. Godfrey Cavaignac observed, 'The Dreyfus Affair suspended for six months the normal and regular life of the nation... in the legislature itself, fiscal reform and labor laws were put aside' while attention was absorbed in the Affair.!° Was it mere coincidence that this six months preceded the general elections of May 1898?

Appendix

Note on ministerial coalition formation. The degree to which the person called to organize a government could design its majority by including-

ing or excluding political groupings as he saw fit tend to be under-
estimated by English speaking historians from countries with a

18 Chastenet, La République, p. 110.
9 Henriette Dardenne, Godefroy Cavaignac: A progressive republican at the beginning of the
3rd Republic, Colmar, 1969, pp. 496-497.

two-party parliamentary system (England) or a presidential system
(the United States). They tend to believe that majority coalitions
emerge naturally, independent of the active direction of an organization
nizing prime minister. That this is not so is readily seen in Israel
with its multiplicity of political parties resulting from its system of
proportional representation in which voters vote for a political party
rather than an individual representative. There the prime minister
is able to assemble to a majority from virtually any combination of par-
ties. When Ehud Barak was prime minister, the coalition that sup-
carried him included Labor (secular, in favor of the Oslo 'peace'
agreements), Shas (religious, Sephardi, lukewarm toward the 'Oslo
peace process"), and Meretz (anti-religious, Ashkenazic, enthusiastic
about the 'Oslo peace process'). After this coalition had fallen apart,
Barak contemplated forming a coalition from a different vet equally
various assortment of parts. One way of testing my claim that
Waldeck designed his coalition so that it would have at Moderate
veto minority would be to determine if the ostensible differences
cited by historians among those Moderates who supported Waldeck's
government and those who opposed it (their beliefs about the guiit
or innocence of Alfred Dreyfus and their pro- or anti-clerical atti-
tudes) were evident before the formation of Waldeck's mimstrvy. If I
am correct, these differences, if they existed at all, would have
emerged after, not before Waldeck's creation of his coalition.

Figure 1. A dagrammatic representation of the Chamber of Deputies, its party
composition and maonty coalitions used in this appendix

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The different shaded areas represent the various political “parties” or groupings in the Chamber.

The bracket represents the coalition supporting the government in office.

The arrow represents the center of the Chamber with half its members to the left and half to the right.

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A BRIEF POLITICAL HISTORY OF FRANCE IN THE 18905
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This was commonly called a “Min-
department of Republican Defense.

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ROBERT KAPLAN

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Figure 3. Ministerial Coalition 1889–1895

in which Radicals and Progressives set aside their

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Ministry of Republican Defense

party programs in order to

the Republic.

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Figure 4. Composition of Chamber 189

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Figure 5. Mainmistries 1893–1898
Prime Minister

a) Jean Casimir-Perier
December 1893–May 1894

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After the fall of Casimir-Perier's government, Bourgeois tries but fails to form a coalition of Radicals and a few Moderates that would enact an income tax.
Charles Dupuy then forms a government supported by essentially the same coalition tion as Casimir-Perier's.

b) Charles Dupuy
May 1894–January 1895

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With fall of Dupuy's government, Bourgeois was reportedly ready to form a “homo-
“geneous” coalition of the Left including Radicals and Socialists. Refusing to be party to this, President of the Republic, Jean Casimir-Perier (he had been elected after the assassination of President Sadi Carnot on June 24, 1894) resigned. Felix Faure replaces Casimir-Perier as president and designates the Moderate Alexander Ribot

to form a government supported by the Right. Lacking a solid majority, Ribot's ministry falls. Bourgeois forms government supported by a “Homogenous” coalition tion of the Left.

c) Alexandre Ribot
January 1895 – October 1895

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Lacking a solid majority, Ribot's ministry falls. Bourgeois forms a government sup- carried by a 'homogeneous' coalition of the left.

d) Léon Bourgeois
November 1895–April 1896

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Bourgeois resigns due to Senate opposition and, it appears, financial threats. Jules Méline, who forms a “Homogenous” Coalition of the Right, replaces him.

e) Jules Méline
April 1896 – June 1898

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Méline resigns after the general elections of May 1898 which result in his losing his majority.

A BRIEF POLITICAL HISTORY OF FRANCE IN THE 18908 shall

Figure 6. Moristenal Coalitions following the General Elections of May 1898

Prime Minister

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c) René
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Coalition includes a preponderance of Radicals and Socialist Radicals, some Socialists and a “veto minority” of Moderates. Parisian Nationalists are excluded as are Catholics and the majority of Moderates. Waldeck-Rousseau claims to be “defending the Republic.”

Figure 7

In June 1899 the position of many Parisian Jacobins (now called “Nationalists”) ostensibly shifted from “left” to “right” although their political philosophy and agenda for government remained unchanged. The ostensible shift of Paris Jacobins from “left” to “right” coincided with their exclusion by Waldeck-Rousseau from the coalition majority he formed at that time. Confusion about this presumed shift from “left” to “right” would be avoided if, instead of a right-to-left mapping of politics groupings, one which classified them as being inside or outside the majority coalition would be employed. (See “Note on ministerial coalition formation,” above.) With such a classification of political groupings, Waldeck-Rousseau's coalition could be depicted as:

Moderates

Socialists

Radicals and Socialist Radicals (Provincial Jacobins)
Catholics who rallied

Uncompromising Catholic

Nationalists (Parisian Jacobins)

N THIS GREAT, HAPPY AND ENLIGHTENED COLONY:
ABRAHAM DE SOLA ON JEWS, JUDAISM AND
EMANCIPATION IN VICTORIAN MONTREAL

Richard Menkis

In the fall of 1855, a number of Montreal Jews gathered with the Reverend Abraham de Sola, the spiritual leader of the Sephardic Shearith Israel congregation, to mark a significant step towards the full political emancipation of the Jews of England. They had received the news that for the first time, a Jew, David Salomons, had been lected Lord Mayor of London without any opposition or conditions imposed.' Canadian Jews, like their non-Jewish Anglophone brethren, keenly followed events in Great Britain? and on this opportunity to Sola and his congregants rejoiced in 'the progress [that] the mother country was, if slowly, yet surely making towards the complete eman-cipation from the last relics of intolerance'. But they also hoped that Great Britain would soon enact the 'blessings of a sounder and more impartial legislation, as in this great, happy and enlightened colony, which freely opens its halls of legislature and of learning, its posts of dignity, of honor and of trust, to all.

Montreal's Jews felt that they had a good reason to be smug. In 1831 the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada had passed 'An Act to declare the equality of persons professing the Jewish Religion', and with royal assent granted a year later, Jews had their full legality

! Previously, when he had been elected sheriff and alderman, special legislation was required to allow him to take an acceptable oath, and in 1851 when he had been elected to Parliament, he could not stay in his seat because he refused to swear the oath 'on the true faith of the Christian'. On Solomons and his politics context, see David Feldman, Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840–1914, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994, pp. 44–45, and the litera- ture cited there.

2? Michael Brown, few or fuf? Jews, French Canadians and Anglo-Canadians, 1759–1914, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 1987, pp. 7 66. De Sola had little ass- tural contact with French Canada.

3 As reported in the Montreal Herald, 3 November 1855 and in the Occident (January, 1856): 497, and previously recorded in Benjamin G. Sack, History of the Jews in Canada, Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, 1945, pp. 157–159.

and political equality confirmed, well before the mother country.' And in fact, many Jews did hold significant political offices in early Montreal and Quebec. But de Sola also acknowledged that some Jews were ambivalent about the new freedoms for the Jews. They feared that

the cause of Jews, rather than Judaism, would be advanced thereby:; and that the beast of the fullest amount of political emancipation would rather prove detrimental to. ...religious interests than otherwise.

No Jew on Canadian soil, cither before or during de Sola's lifetime. has left as full a body of writings confronting the implications of the new relationship between Jews and the state.® As such, an analysis of de Sola's views on this topic can contribute to the comparative study of Jewish emancipation. [subscribe to the current historio- graphic trend to eschew the older, futile search for one pivotal point in the turn to a Jewish modernity in favor of an approach which acknowledge that in 'Every place, every time, every group, could manifest different results in different permutations'." Because there has been very little research examining the attitudes of non-Christians towards state-building in nineteenth-century Canada, an analysis of de Sola's attitudes can also offer a comparative perspective to the history of state, society and religion in Victorian Canada.f

For some discussion of the political context of the legislation, see Richard Menkis, 'Anti-Semitism and Anti-Judaism in Pre-Confederation Canada', in Alan Davies, ed. Antsemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, 1992, pp. 16-17 and Sheldon J. Godfrey and Judith C. Godfrey, Search out the Land: The Jews and the Growth of Equality in British Colonial America, 1740-1867, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 1995, pp. 17180.

5 Ocadent (January, 1856): 499.

® There are a number of bio-bibliographic works on de Sola, most notably Evelyn Miller, 'The 'Learned Hazan' of Montreal: The Reverend Abraham de Sola, LL.D.: 1825-1882", American Sephardi 7-8 (1975): 23-43, and more recently Anne Joseph, Heritage of a Patriarch: Canada's First Settlers and the Continuing Story of these Familie Canada, Septentrion, Sillery, Québec, 1995, in various places between pages 216-328. With the exception of the works by Michael Brown and Gerald Tulchinsky, referred to in these notes, there has been very little critical work examining de Sola in his Montreal and international contexts.

7 Jonathan Frankel, 'Assimilation and the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Towards New Historiography, in Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds., Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, p. 31.

∗ For some recent discussions on religion and the state in Canada, see the essays collected in David Lyon and Marguerite van Die, eds. Rethinking Church, State and Modernity: Canada between Europe and America, University of Toronto Press, Toronto,

Abraham de Sola was an outspoken advocate for political and social equality from the time of his arrival in Montreal. Great Although Britain's movement towards the total emancipation of the Jew was quite advanced by the middle of the nineteenth-century, de Sola bnistled at the remaining restrictions. He was intimately aware of the London-Jewish scene: Born in London in 1825, his father was David Aaron de Sola," a central religious figure in Bevis Marks, the oldest and most prestigious Sephardic congregation in England. Abraham was himself active in communal affairs there from his late teens, and experienced first-hand Jewish insecurity which resulted from ongo- ing prejudice and the incomplete emancipation. While in London, de Sola worked on a translation of Chizzuk emunah, a classic anti- Christian polemic written by the Karaite Isaac Troki. De Sola believed that Trokrs use of Biblical texts made it an effective weapon against bibliocentric evangelists calling for the conversion of the Jews. Some of the members of his community were keen on the work, and the wealthy philanthropist and international intercessor on behalf of the Jews, Sir Moses Montefiore, rewarded de Sola with a silver cup when

he saw some of the translation. But as de Sola would later write to his colleague and (on-and-off) friend, Isaac Leeser, ° he suspended his work for political reasons, because of

the opinion expressed by several friends holding a commanding position tion in our community ... that its appearance would be very difficult to about at a time when it was expedient to use every means to prevent

2000. There is clearly a need, however, for examinations of the interaction of non-Christians with the Canadian state in order to deepen our understanding of the relevant problems. For the most complete discussion of the highest Jewish presence in Canada, see Gerald Tulchinsky, Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jews Community, Lester, Toronto, 1992.

° The most detailed description of the life of David Aaron de Sola came from Abraham de Sola's pen, and it is both literally and metaphorically to fiiopietistic work. See his Biography of David Aaron de Sola. Late senior minister of the Portuguese Jeu Community in London, Wm. H. Jones & Son, Philadelphia, 1864. The pamphlet prob-ably appeared, in fact, in 1865. For the best description of the orthodox milieu at the time of David Aaron de Sola, see Steven Singer, Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London, 1840-1858, Ph.D. thesis, Yeshiva University, 1981.

10 On the irascible Leeser, see Lance J. Sussman, /saac Leeser and the Making of American Judaism, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1995. Real tensions emerged after Leeser's harsh review of one of de Sola's translations.

those from having a pitchon pehl! [to oppose] the emancipation of the Jews on the grounds that Christianity would thereby be endan-gered. Î recollect one gentleman remarking-Sir R Inglis® can't hold up the Book in the House [of Commons] and say 'These Jews declared they don't interfere with Christianity but what is the true case? Look at this blasphemous" production'. That it would be the means of cre-ating ill feeling against the yehudim'∗ at that time [could not deny & so 'acquiesced in the decision' that it would be desirable to defer its publication . . .®

But in Canada, and on his own, de Sola had no reservations about continuing the work, nor did he hold back from demonstrating his own forceful pro-emancipation stance. Hardly at year had passed from the time of his arrival in Montreal, when he addressed the Montreal Mercantile Library Association in April, 1848 on the topic of the history of the Jews in England. Before an audience of Jews and non-Jews, de Sola commented on both the disabilities in England and the differing conditions in Canada. He surveyed the medieval persecutions of the Jews, and the movement towards emancipation

from the middle of the eighteenth century on, but noted with regret
that full emancipation had not been achieved, and that opponents
to Jewish equality continued to raise wrong-minded arguments. Of
Sola objected, for example, to the classic anti-emancipation argument
ment that Jews could not identify themselves with the land in which
they lived, because they expected messiah to return the Jews to
the Land of Israel. '°Nonsense, according to de Sola; first of all, a

'! In Hebrew characters in the original. Translates as 'pretext'.

A leading opponent of Jewish emancipation who fought against the weakening-
ing of Christianity in the country, and saw the Parliament as the most important
battlefield to preserve England's Christian character. See, for example, Feldman,
Englishmen and Jews, pp. 33-34, 42, 44, 57.

5 Emphasis in the original.

In Hebrew characters in the original. Translation: Jews.

© Unpublished letter, Archives of the American Jewish Historical Society, New York,
*P-20, Abraham de Sola to Isaac Leeser, April 7, 1848.

© This argument was a mainstay of conservative opposition to Jewish emancipation
pation. See, for example, Jacob Katz, Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jews
Emanapation, 1770-1870, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA., 1972, p. 94
for just one example. The argument had appeared in a Canadian context during
the infamous Hart aflair, when Aaron Hart was refused a seat in an elected Assembly
because he was at Jew. One of the opponents of giving political rights to the Jews
included in his argument that Jews did not want citizenship because they are waiting-
ing for the Messiah, 'their prince', and cannot show allegiance to any other polit-
ical entity. See Le canadien, 2 March 1808, pp. 57-8.

Christian who believed in the Second Coming could be accused of
ulümate disloyalty to the state. Besides, de Sola argued that there
was no Justification for this approach in the Jewish tradition and
delivered, according to a press report

Po a most unqualified denial to the assertion [of disloyalty]; for...
every Israclite was scripturally bound to pray for, and promote the
welfare of the country in which he dwelt, that [the] Rabbis and teach-
ers inculcated the same doctrine, and that experience had shown the
falsity of the supposition, since Jews in every stage of their history had
fulfilled offices of trust and importance, the duties of which they had
most honorably and successfully discharged.!?

De Sola also made it clear that despite the sense of civic duty of English Jews such as the Rothschilds, or Moses Montefiore, Jews were still in the 'humiliating position' of not being able to take up a seat in Parliament, and he denounced the disabilities 'which still disgraced the political code of Great Britain'.

It was because de Sola was aware of these disabilities that he appreciated the special circumstances prevailing in British North America, namely the 'complete and thorough emancipation of the Jews in Canada from any kind of political thraldom'.'* He reassured his audience that Montreal had already benefited from the civic commitments of its Jews, and would continue to do so in this atmosphere-sphere of tolerance. De Sola may well have been addressing suspicions about Jewish civic spirit in Montreal. In 1849 one of de Sola's congregants, Samuel Benjamin, was elected as councilman in Montreal. After the election Benjamin stated, according to a paraphrase in the press, that

it was too often asserted that a Jew had no ambition except to make money [and it] would now be his ambition to show himself worthy of them by his conduct for the post for which he had been chosen."

De Sola wholeheartedly agreed with Benjamin's response to those suspicions, and sought to remind his non-Jewish audience of the morality and benefits of embracing the Jew as a citizen.

7 The most complete report on the lecture appeared in the Occident (June, 1848), pp. 143-149, which included a report from the Montreal Transenpt and Commercial Advertiser.

18 Ouest (June, 1848), p. 148.

9 As reported in the London Jewish Chronicle, April 20, 1849, p. Dre

De Sola appreciated more than just the political freedoms offered to the members of his local Jewish community. It grieved him that Jews were denied access to Oxford and Cambridge Universities in England, but he took heart in the situation in Montreal. McGill College appointed de Sola as lecturer in Hebrew in 1848, and five years later he was given the title of Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature. In 1858, he was given an honorary doctorate and six years later the College asked him to deliver the address to the graduating class, an event which he viewed with great pride. He informed Leeser that the gesture revealed the 'hiberality of the College authorities, for tho' there are Jewish professors, I believe no one has yet

been entrusted with giving parting moral advice to graduates'. Hey was equally thrilled that for the first time the address was going to be printed with the proceedings of the convocation." De Sola thus had a large audience when he praised McGill for its tolerance, and used the opportunity to call on its graduates to emulate their school for the good of humanity:

Carry forth with you, gentlemen, the noble lesson taught by your Alma Mater, who receives into her fostering bosom every race, nationality and creed. And be assured that if this example were more generally followed abroad, and if men would as assiduously seek points of agreement as they seek points of difference, much of the acrimony, uncharitable itableness and ill-will that now array God's children against each other, would soon disappear. . . .*!

So once again, Abraham de Sola publicly expressed his deep attachment to the tolerance in 'this enlightened colony, and encouraged other states and non-Jews in general to do the same.

He

In addition to praising the virtues of emancipation to non-Jews, Sola had to calm the fears of some Jews. At the honoring meeting

* Unpublished letter, Abraham de Sola to Isaac Leeser, 12 May 1864, Leeser Collection, Center for Judaic Studies Library, University of Pennsylvania. This letter has also been cited in Tulchinsky, Taking Root, p. 45.

* Abraham de Sola, Valedictory Address to the graduates in arts of the University of McGill College, Montreal, delivered at the annual convocation, Tuesday 3rd May, 1864. M. Longmoore & Co., Gazette Steam Press, Montreal, 1864, p. 5.

David Salomons, de Sola alluded to Jews who had some doubts about the benefits of emancipation because of the possible harm to rehgious tradition if the Jews were to be accepted in society with- let's restrict. This view, expressed in Montreal, paralleled the comments of Jews in traditionalist circles in London, where some even argued, with Christian opponents of emancipation, that the Jews were meant to dwell apart from other nations? Although by Sola respected the intentions of those who wished to protect the Jews tradition —after all, it was his intention too!——he ultimately argued that their objections to emancipation were misguided. He was more accommodating to modern society than these traditionalists in his insistence

tence on assuming both the benefits and challenges of emancipation.

De Sola developed three arguments to justify his position. From biblical history, he said, we learn that achieving at high station in non-Jewish society did not, a pron, lead to a non-traditional life. Moses was raised in a non-Jewish court, but became Israel's great- is a leader and prophet. De Sola also spoke of the exploits and char- actors of Nehemiah and Mordechai, who served both kings and community. He became most explicit with the examples of Hanaïah, Mishael and Azariah, who along with Daniel, refused to eat the king's food (Daniel, chapter 1):

Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah, held places of power and trust in Babylon; yet they would not eat of the King's table. Nor does eman- cipation compel Israelites to eat but as their law enjoins. Their most important prophecies were from the mouth of Daniel, and he was 'ruler over the whole province of Babylon'. (Dan. 2:48)”

De Sola also used post-Biblical examples to advance his case. Hey offered an image of Maimonides (not shared by all his contemporary raries) as a hero, a prototypical modern in his commitment to rea- his, Jewish learning and success in the non-Jewish world. If for others Jews, such as Samson Raphael Hirsch, Maimonides was suspect because his system originated from outside of Judaism, to de Sola Maimonides was 'that man of mental might', the court physician

2 For an extended discussion of the debate over the desirability of emancipation and its consequences within the orthodox Jewish community of England, see Singer, Orthodox Fudaism in Early Victorian London', pp. 94-127, with a discussion of the upper class traditionalist viewpoint on pp. 99-109.

% Ouest, January, 1856, p. 500.

and scholar who proved that a Jew could benefit by accepting what the outside world had to offer. He added others to that list, such as the great and complex figure of Isaac Abravanel, a self-assured com- mentor on the Bible who served in the Court of Ferdinand and Isabel. These two figures had obviously been favorites of his father as well, and here Abraham de Sola offered them to a new generation tion in his attempt to justify a benevolent outlook towards the non- “Jewish world.”

De Sola's last pro-emancipation argument was psychological, with a thinly-veiled threat. Ambition, he argued, was a God-given qual- ity of human beings, and could not be suppressed, and 'none hug

their chains but those mentally crushed". As such, any attempt to suppress the natural desire to advance is unnatural and unhealthy. De Sola also proposed that if Jews could not achieve their aims within the context of emancipation, their ambition would be 'perverted' and would force them to leave the Jewish community and Judaism completely. As an example he gave the case of the Jews in 'continental countries, especially Germany', where the Jews suffered disabilities, including being denied university positions and as follows

an honorable ambition, not being permitted by the state to find the scope it sought, had run riot. . . .[and] in emancipating themselves from civil disabilities emancipated themselves from Judaism and all religious restraints.

De Sola thus dangled in front of the Jewish opponents of emancipation pation the examples of talented Jews from German lands who converted in order to gain access to institutions of higher learning." Ambition was natural, according to de Sola, and if wrongly thwarted

On Maimonides as reinvented by moderns, see Michael A. Meyer, 'Maimonides and some Moderns: European Images of the Rambam from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century", CCAR Journal: A Reform Quarterly, Fall, 1997, pp. 4–15. On the complex attitude of Abravanel towards innovation and tradition, as well as individualism, see Eric Lawee, Zsaac Abravanel's Stance Toward Tradition, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2001. For the modern interpretations and mythologizations of Abravanel, see Jean-Christophe Attias, 'Isaac Abravanel: Between Ethnic Memory and National Memory', Jewish Social Studies ns 2 (1996), pp. 137–155.

"Abraham de Sola, Biography of David Aaron de Sola, p.51.

*% For a summary of the situation in German universities at the time, see Michael Brenner, 'Between Revolution and Legal Equality', in Michael Meyer, ed. and Michael Brenner, assistant ed., German-Feursh History in Modern Times: Volume 2: Emancipation and Acculturation, 1780–1871, Columbia University Press, New York,
OP T0 ENANISNS

the results could be disastrous for Jews and Judaism. Emancipation, in short, was both an explicit and hidden 'blessing'.

But Abraham de Sola knew that the challenges facing contemporary rary Jewry were far more nuanced than he admitted when addressed-ing the Jewish doubters of emancipation. He sensed, as a modern clergyman serving to population with a high degree of integration into non-Jewish politics and social life, that he would have to confront those who felt a weakened commitment to the bonds of tra-

ditional Jewish practices and beliefs. And he knew that very real conflicts existed as to how to divide commitments of time and others resources between synagogue and the rest of their lives. To address these tensions, de Sola attempted to convince his congregants from the synagogue pulpit that they must hold on to a multifaceted notion of freedom, one which differentiated between freedom and religion conformity.

This message came through clearly in several of his sermons on the Festival of Passover, the celebration of the redemption of Israel from the bondage of Egypt. In de Sola's interpretation of the moral lessons of the story, he gave fairly short shrift to physical and even political freedom. What was far more significant to him was a fear that a new self-possessed slavery would take hold. In the post-emancipation age of voluntary identification with the Jewish community and Judaism, he was concerned that Jews would be slaves to social pressures. Already in his first Passover in Montreal, in 1847, he insisted that

God did not deliver us from an enslavement of the body that we should suffer an enslavement of the mind. He didn't lead us with a wide hand and an outstretched arm from a land in which we bend to the yoke of cruelty and oppression that we should enslave ourselves in lands where liberality and tolerance exist."

De Sola also used the occasion of another Passover sermon to complain that contemporary Jews were behaving as slaves im their drive towards reforming Judaism. He was himself an advocate for some mild changes in the liturgy, and continued the practice of regular English sermons, which had only been a recent feature in the Sephardic

27 Unpublished sermon by Abraham de Sola, 'The Passover', (1847), National Archives of Canada Jewish Congress (Montreal) (hereafter CJCNA), MC 13, Box 1/File 8.

congregation in London. However, he was outspoken in his animosity towards what he saw as the extremism of those who wanted to change the liturgy from Hebrew to English, or who encouraged dispensing with traditional Sabbath observances. He wondered about the freedom of those Jews whom he considered to be subservient to the critical scrutiny of the outside world:

Thus let but a freaking world laugh at rites and institutions which have been sacredly observed thousands and revered by Israelites for of gen-

erations as being in the highest degree authoritative and as best conduce to the welfare and preservation of Judaism. [say let but the world point the finger of ridicule to these, and the slave to its opinion-ion will immediately discover and pronounce them to be absurd, inconsistent with the enlightenment and the present age, and therefore to be done away with.

Abraham de Sola advocated an orientation opposed to what he considered to be religious subservience, and offered an accommodation which he deemed rooted in the history of Judaism, and totally acceptable in the society in which Montreal Jewry was living. At a time when Jews were looking for a language to express their notions of how Judaism could adapt to the modern era, de Sola argued for an "orthodoxy" infused with "religious consistency". As we shall see, consistency would become an often-repeated term, one which signified a full-hearted, even courageous, commitment to past practices in new, open and challenging social circumstances.

To illustrate his point on the proper method of adapting to the modern condition, Abraham de Sola offered various familiar roles models from the past. But the most interesting examples were from his own times. On occasion, he narrated-his own life as a kind of morality play for emancipated Jewry. The minister, who was always proud of his affiliation with McGill, had much to say to his synagogues" Board of Trustees after he was notified of the bestowal of honorary Doctor of Laws from McGill in 1858. He was convinced that the award would be of interest to them

not only as evincing the spirit of enlightened liberality which has actuality ated the Governors and Faculties of McGill College, but as evidencing

Unpublished sermon by Abraham de Sola, 'The Passover', 1850, CJCNA, MC 13, Box 1/File 8, De Sola Sermon. For examples of de Sola's hostility towards Reform Judaism, see Tulchinsky, Taking Root, especially pp. 46-7.

'IN THIS GREAT, HAPPY AND ENLIGHTENED COLONY* SE

the cheering fact that in Montreal at least there is no bar, unless our own want of self-respect erect it, to prevent the Israelite from reaching-ing that goal which all right thinking men aspire to achieve.?

And for his congregants, who were among the most wealthy and ambitious in the Jewish community, he had a sporting metaphor to illustrate that there need be no sacrifice of religious observance:

I am not the less grateful that, thank God, the field of preference and of honor is here open to us [in Canada] equally as to Christians, to run the fair race without sacrificing one iota of our religious consistency.*

In other words, his own natural ambitions were happily not thwarted in Canada, nor did they require him to abandon his religious commitment. This self-aggrandizement was concomitantly with suggestion on how to navigate the sometimes treacherous waters of modern open society. De Sola apparently conveyed this message widely. When Sabato Morais, the Philadelphia-based minister and leading figure of 19th-century North American Judaism,'! delivered a eulogy of de Sola he mentioned the Montreal minister's powerful commitment to orthodoxy, and referred specifically to the honorary doctorate from McGill:

Abraham De Sola bore a title conferred by an institution in which his learning set for him a professor's chair. He appended to his name the epithet of 'Doctor of Law', as an evidence of the appreciation of non-Israelites for a consistent Jew, whose varied knowledge benefited the community at large."

Six years after the honorary doctorate, de Sola had opportunity to offer another, even more elaborate role model for the possibility of living an emancipated but traditional Jewish life. In the fall of 1864, during

% Abraham de Sola's letter of 4 May 1858 was preserved in the minutes of the Trustees Meeting of Shearith Israel, May 15, 1858. I have used the transcription by Louis Rosenberg in the Louis Rosenberg Collection in the National Archives of Canada, (MG 30, C119, volume 23) because he transcribed materials that do not seem to have been preserved.

7 Jhide

4 Arthur Kiron, 'Golden Ages, Promised Lands: The Victorian Rabbinic Humanism of Sabato Morais', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1999, especially pp. 87-124 on the London background which very much resembles—and overlapped with—Abraham de Sola's own background in London.

2 Sabato Morais, 'An address at the funeral of Dr. A. De Sola [1882], Unpublished address, Morais Collection, Center for Judaic Studies Library, University of Pennsylvania.

the week when the Biblical portion of Noah was read in the synagogue, de Sola spoke on the occasion of Moses Montefiore recenv-

ing the honor of the freedom of the city of London." Moses Montefiore's exploits had captured the imagination of Jews far and wide. and Michael Brown has shown how this also held true in Canada. The 'lessons' of Montefiore's life, however, were as pliable as any myth, and de Sola had his own take. De Sola, in fact, had a fascination with Montefiore throughout his life. Ace to youth he wrote to fictionalized account of Montefiore's time in Turkey in the early 1840s in a copybook, and from Montreal de Sola did not miss an opportunity to inform the elder statesman of his achievements in the New World.

In his address, the Montreal minister made explicit why he thought the example of Montefiore should be placed before contemporary Jews. To begin, de Sola elaborated on the subject of the weekly Biblical reading, Noah. Despite the potential ambiguity of the sentence that Noah was 'a righteous man and perfect in his generations' (Genesis 6:9)—an ambiguity which led some interpreters (Sanhedrin 108a) to suggest that being the most righteous at a time when God decided to destroy the whole generation was not necessarily great achievement—de Sola insisted on Noah's righteousness in more positive terms. Following the commentary of Abraham ibn Ezra, he insisted that Noah was both righteous in actions and in intent, not just in his own generation but until the very days of Abraham, as Noah lived until Abraham was fifty-eight. Another Sephardic commentator, Nahmanides, also insisted upon the absolute righteousness of Noah, and de Sola cited him approvingly as well. In the end, the

® Abraham de Sola, 3 p.m. Tzaddik The Righteous Man: In Sermon, Commemorating the Bestowal of Public Honors on Sir Moses Montefore by the City of London: Preached in Montre on Sabbath Noah, 5625, by the Rev. Professor de Sola, Ph.D. (np: 1864).

% For a multifaceted discussion of the life and career of Moses Montefiore, see the articles in Sonia and VD Lipman, ed., The Century of Moses Montefore, Littman Library by Oxford University Press, London, 1985, and on the myths, see in that volume the article by Marilyn Lehrer with Peter Salinger, 'The Testimonials and the Legend", pp. 349-361. See also Moshe Samet, Moses Montefore: Reality and Myth, Carmel, Jerusalem, 1989, (in Hebrew), especially the comments on pp. 190-192.

% Michael Brown, 'Moses Montefiore and Canada', Jewish Historical Society of England: Transachons Sessions 1981-1982, volume XXVIIE & Miscellanies Part XIII 1984, pp. 171-180.

% For a comprehensive listing of the connections between Abraham de Sola and Moses Montefiore, see Brown, 'Moses Montefiore and Canada', pp. 175-177, to which can be added the gift that Moses Montefiore gave to de Sola for his translation of Troki, as above, note 15.

'IN THIS GREAT, HAPPY AND ENLIGHTENED COLONY' D]

righteousness of Noah was twice in that he had perfect faith in his understanding of the universe and God's ways in it, and in his practice tice, in his exactitude in carrying out his mission and building the ark according to the perfect divine plan. And all of Noah's accomplishments were in the face of a derisive and laughing multitude, which did not understand his commitment to both God and the world.

For de Sola, the parallels to his own time were obvious. There are those who mock the righteous because of their limited vision, because 'they cannot understand that, if they are 'righteous' as Israelites, they may yet be 'perfect' in the discharge of all duties devolving upon them as citizens of the world'. But the minister reiterated what must have been to familiar refrain to his congregants by then, namely that fulfilling the obligations of Judaism need not be surrendered by good citizens:

We will examine our history as a people, and we shall find that, from the period of the earliest progenitors of our race, a strict observance of all the requirements of Israel's religion has ever been found by our fathers to be quite compatible with the fullest and most zealous discharge of their duties as citizens of the various Gentile states into which their lot has been cast."

'As on other occasions, from Sola created to genealogy of justification, those examples from the past arrayed to demonstrate his point, Imcluding the oft-cited Joseph in Egypt, Ezra, Nehemiah and Mordechai in Babylonia and Persia, and Abravanel (once again). His interest on that day, however, was to refer to the very contemporary example of Moses Montefiore. De Sola hoped to convey that being traditional in practice and beliefs offered an avenue to success in civil society, and was hardly hindrance. Montefiore did not achieve his honors from London because his gold and silver are much. .... but because mindful of the teaching of his religion, he freely dispensed of his great substance. . . in eating the hungry, clothing the naked, erecting houses of prayer. .. [Montefiore] forgot not the law which his great prototype Moses commanded, 'thou shalt love the stranger', nor the instructions of Israel's teachers to help the sick, be they Jew, or Kind.*

To demonstrate how great an impact the successful traditional Jew could have on the non-Jewish world, de Sola remarked not just on

3 De Sola, 3pm Tsaddik, p. 6.
HUIMAS AP: 8.

the honor that Montefiore had received in London, but in the printed version of the sermon added a note showing how favorably the local Montreal press received the news of Montefiore's award. The Reverend made sure to include this comment from the Montreal Herald: “Be it remarked [that this honor] ...is granted to one of the most rigidly orthodox members of the Jewish church that could well be found, while to a more lax adherent of the ancient faith similar hon- ors have not yet been bestowed’.”

Abraham de Sola was not happy to leave the example of Montefiore without further elaboration, and made it clear that he wanted Jews to see that there was indeed a way of living in the world and maintaining a traditional Jewish life. Jews could choose to remove their Judaism from the public square, but they needed to be steadfast in their adherence to tradition:

Be it then our most earnest endeavor ever to lead the consistent. uncompromising Jewish life. True, we are not called upon to proclaim our faithfulness from the house-tops, nor to declare our orthodoxy at the street corners; but we certainly are required by every feeling of self-respect, consistency, and duty, not to swerve from the strict bound- ary line laid down for us... .#

But how was one to maintain this boundary? For centuries, Jews in the Diaspora had developed, to use Jacob Katz's categories, moral and junidical guidelines to define the boundaries of Jewish-Gentule relationships. In the Middle Ages the balance ulted towards theoretical exclusivity, with some remarkable exceptions, while in the modern era the tendency in the west was towards greater and theoretical practical acceptance of Jewish-Gentile interactions –but with attempts to delineate new boundaries. For some, such as the maskil Moses Mendelssohn, the theory and practice of Jewish tolerance towards Gentiles were based on the human capacity for reason.'! With the increase of tolerance towards Jews, various Jewish groups tried to find a new language for expressing their stance towards non-Jews.

Many of Abraham de Sola's sermons, as we have seen, focused on providing examples for his audience, with the hope that these 'heroes' would convey the necessary message. On certain occasions,

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Jacob Katz, Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Fewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times, Oxford University Press, New York, 1961, passim.

'IN THIS GREAT, HAPPY AND ENLIGHTENED COLONY* J07

de Sola became more explicit---or more didactic than usual—in his justification and promotion of boundaries. Already in 1847, during his first Passover sermon when he began to warn of the dangers of self-imposed slavery, de Sola insisted that it was possible to mediate religious exclusivity and social inclusivity. In speaking of the Passover, he reminded his listeners at some length that Israel is obligated to treat the non-Jew with the utmost of respect, using the classic text that Israel must show compassion because they too had been strangers in Egypt. But in trying to define boundaries, he also insisted that there were limits to interaction, and thus pointed out that the paschal lamb was not to be eaten by a 'stranger'. While he insisted that 'we are all descended from Adam, all equally the work of One God, and that therefore we are bound in our social interaction to look upon each other as brethren and children of the same Parents, the same Æchad, he also warned that 'we cannot consistently join in religious or family communion with those who do not trace their descent from Abraham'.

In various ways, and on numerous occasions, Abraham de Sola insisted on the legitimacy of religious exclusivity. He pressed the point particularly forcefully during several Bar Mitzvah sermons with the audience being no less the Congregation as a whole than the Bar Mitzvah. On the occasion of the Bar Mitzvah of Samuel Benjamin in 1856, de Sola delivered a sermon entitled 'Look at your Father Abraham'. De Sola drew the figure of Abraham as one who was generous to strangers, as in the stories of Melchizedek (Genesis 14:2) and especially the story of the three strangers whom Abraham treats with great hospitality in his tent (Genesis 18). But this did not preclude Abraham from knowing where to draw the line. De Sola instructed his young congregant that Abraham still desired that his son have a wife from his own family, and not a 'daughter of the land'. (Genesis 24). Even more suggestive is de Sola's depiction of Abraham's insistence to pay for his own burial plot. His amplification of the story deals with the concern that Jews will be loathe to set up boundaries for fear of insulting non-Jews by sceming ungrateful. He suggested that the children of Seth 'no doubt thought that it was

Hebrew in the original, translated as One. Unpublished sermon by Abraham de Sola, 'The Passover', (1847), CJCNA, MC 13, Box 1/File 8. Emphasis in the

original.

bigotry which induced the Patriarch to refuse the best of the sepulcher cher which they offered him'. But de Sola responded to that old-

new fear by preaching that 'Abraham was too faithful, too manly' to heed them. ...He and his descendants were to form a separate people. His descendants initiated each other in the covenant, they were to marry among themselves and to be buried among themselves'.** These exclusive religious activities were totally legitimate, and once again de Sola reminded his listeners that this should not affect their sociability: 'In short, in every religious act they were to be exclusive, but in every social act not so. In social communion they were frankly and pleasantly to mingle as children of one great parents

De Sola then, reinforced this notion of a division of religious and social spheres, and detailed some concrete issues, such as resistance to intermarriage, and the creation of exclusive religious spaces such as synagogues and cemeteries. He extended his list of legitimate exclusive concerns to the area of Jewish education in an undated Passover sermon. After pointing out a variety of text s which call on Jews to take responsibility for the religious education of their children dren, de Sola once again set up the questions which he assumed Jews were asking themselves for fear of appearing exclusivist. 'Aim will not this training of our children, it is asked, imbue them with narrow mindedness and bigotry?' De Sola responded, first of all, that this was another occasion where there should be no self-consciousness, because it is a religious obligation that Jews observe everywhere, and because Jews should be able to provide an education which teaches about Judaism in an atmosphere of prejudice, which de Sola insisted remained despite 'boasted cnlightenment & liberality'. , he argued that the Jews of his congregation were not alone in this wish. In addition to the commitment of Jews elsewhere to Jewish education, he insisted that this was 'a principle. ... not of darkness or bigotry, but of consistency——a consistency which is even more taught us by our Gentle friends in their various educational

The reference to manliness raises important questions of masculinity and femininity and the relationship to emancipation. [am presently completing an article tentatively entitled 'A Judaic Construction of Gender in Victorian Montreal'.

Unpublished sermon by Abraham de Sola, 'Look to Abraham your Father. D de Sola on Shabbat 'Eqev 5616'. (1856), CJCNA, MC 13, Box 1/File 8.

® Ibid.

organizations'.® He clearly tried to alleviate Jewish self-consciousness by insisting that Christians, too, were heavily committed to religious education. In Canada religious education was a highly politicized issue, and unlike the case in the United States, some forms of religious education received state funding within the framework of the

Confederation of Canada in 1867." De Sola's appeal to the practice
tices of contemporary Christians was an attempt to legitimize exclusion
activity by asking Jews to study the example of certain Christians,
rather than listen to those who wished to call completely into questions
tion the place of religion in the individuals lives. It was yet another
device in Abraham de Sola's effort to draw the elusive boundaries
between Jew and non-Jew in the open world of emancipation, yet
somehow remain 'consistent'.

III

As Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson have so clearly stated, 'To
grasp [the]... relationship of Jews to the state, it is necessary to
empathetically recaptures the intentions of the actors. These are mat-
ters of culture, experience, and cognition'. By looking at the exam-
ple of Abraham de Sola in Victorian Montreal we have the example
of one actor, in one specific setting, dealing with a critical issue of
modern Jewish history—the implications of inclusion into the state
and society in the period of emancipation. In numerous pronounce-
ments, from his pulpit in the synagogue and from the lecterns in
numerous lecture halls, Abraham de Sola repeated his basic orient-
tation towards this issue. He insisted that emancipation must be
embraced over the objections of non-Jews, and despite the misgivings
of some well-intentioned Jews. The Jews were worthy of it, he would
tell non-Jews, and he would remind the Jews to prove themselves

Unpublished sermon by Abraham de Sola, 'The Passover', (nd) CJCNA, MC
13. Box. 1 / File 8.

For a brief statement on this complicated and volatile issue, see Brian Clarke,
'English-Speaking Canada from 1854', in Terence Murphy and Roberto Perin, eds.,
A Concise History of Christianity in Canada, Oxford University Press, Toronto, 199%6,
pp. 294-296. In general, for institution building by Montreal Jewry during this
period, including education, see Tulchinsky, Taking Root, passim.

Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, 'Emancipation and the Liberal Offer',
in Birnbaum and Katznelson, eds., Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States and Citizenship,
Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995, p. 34.

worthy. De Sola also attempted to demonstrate to the Jews that their
Judaism was definitely not a hindrance to their full participation im
the life of the state, and was even of benefit.

Abraham de Sola's commitment had its local dimension, and rein-
forces the wisdom of examining emancipation from a comparative

perspective. The English-born minister showed proud attachment to the liberality of Canadian laws, and personally enjoyed the benefits of working at McGill. It was nothing less than a patriotism for the state and society which accepted Jews. The constant reference to events in England, or to English figures such as Moses Montefiore, was not homesickness on his part, but was appropriate for the Jews and non-Jewish cultural environment of early English Canada which was 50 rooted in events in the 'mother' country.

Publicly, de Sola brooked no doubts about the ability of Jews to live their lives as orthodox Jews enjoying full sociability with their non-Jewish neighbors. Jeffrey Gurock has divided Orthodox rabhis betwen 'resisters and 'accommodators'* and de Sola should certainly be counted among the latter. De Sola was not blind to the implications of an open society. From his private correspondence with Isaac Leeser, we know that he made frequent disappearance remarks about his community, for its lack of commitment and interis in a religiously and intellectually engaged Jewish life." Nevertheless, de Sola maintained his openness to emancipation, and insisted on social inclusiveness. This accommodation encompassed many of Sola's other acuvities, including his attempts to link rabbinic Judaism with natural theology and its specific proposals for Jewish education tion, both topics beyond the scope of the present paper.

But the dichotomy between accommodator and resister may be too rigid. Every accommodator like de Sola offered resistance. Susannah Heschel has shown how Abraham Geiger's analysis of the Jewishness of Jesus was one case of resistance against the continued disappearance ing of Judaism by contemporary Christian theologians."! Many Jews

Jeflrey Gurock, 'Resisters and Accommodators: Varieties of Orthodox Rabbis in America, 1886-1983", American Jewish Archives, 35, 1983, pp. 100-187.

% Tulchinsky, Taking Root, pp. 43-44 effectively uses the letters to Leeser to indicate de Sola's frustration with the community.

" Susannah Heschel, Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1998. Her focus on the agency of the Jews in this apologetic 1s powerful and correct, but Geiger is treated as exceptional only in degree, because he used the central figure of Jesus to respond to non-Jews.

writers were aware of the pressure of the non-Jewish world and were participants in resisting and redefining. De Sola was fully aware of the gaze of non-Jews, a term which De Sola's contemporaries implied or used long before its current usage. The questions that by Sola addressed show how aware he was of his congregants' discomfort, their vague awareness that somebody was examining their ability to

'fit in.” De Sola's life was very much filled with practical work building bridges between Jews and non-Jews and simultaneously constructuring Jewish institutions which allowed for Jews to negotiate their lives in their corner of the diaspora. He addressed non-Jews and Jews in his advocacy of resistance to political and social exclusions and pressures to conform. And he attempted to arm his own audience culturally with narratives of resistance and pride. He repeatedly offered interpretations of Bibhical figures which simultaneously contemporized the Bible and nestled his own particular vision of the ideal Jewish life into sacred history. He presented an array of heroes, past and present, worthy of emulation, including himself. We cannot necessarily share his enthusiasms, but we can appreciate him as one among many, in Canada and elsewhere, who attempted to confront a very new, even raw, set of realities in the Jewish relationship with the state and with non-Jewish society.

CHARLES MAURRAS' STATE ANTISEMITISM

Jean-Marc Joubert

The Doctrine

Charles Maurras (1868-1952), writer, critic, journalist and poet was also a politician, the leader of Action Française, a party who worked towards the establishment of a monarchy and, more broadly, of a new political order. A large part of his time was dedicated to the formulation of a doctrine whose high- dimension The controversial and often aggressive approach should not obscure the deneither the city nor, without a doubt, the philosophical depth.

Maurras was the intellectual mentor of an entire generation! can compare its influence, for right-wing opinion, to that of Jean-Paul Sartre, for the left-wing side.

But the expression 'leading thinker' is misleading; it does not cover- It doesn't mean what it indicates. Most often, in fact, it's the 'master' who thinks for others who benefit from this Laziness-induced resignation. Nothing of the sort in Maurras, at least not in the beginnir of his theoretical career; he wanted to bring about a true revolution intellectual analysis through rigorous examination of prejudices and illusions the thought stemming from the Revolution.” Hence a Socratic-type approach

The best book on Charles Maurras remains that of Pierre Boutang, Charles Maurras, Destiny and Work, Plon, Paris, 1984. This is the work of a disciple. We should nc Also: LS Roudiez, Maurras until Action Française, Paris, 1957 and H. Massis, Maurras and our time, Paris-Geneva, 1951 for their great biographical interest. C. Capitan-Peter's book, Charles Maurras and the ideology of Action Française, Paris,

1972 is notable for its biases. Gérard Leclerc attempted a 'royalist' reading of
left' in his Another Maurras, Dôle, 1974. Among works more focused on
Action française, let us quote: Jacques Paugam, L'âge d'or du maurrassisme, Paris, 1971.
PM Dioudonnat, History of 'I am everywhere'. The Maurrassians facing the fascist temptatio
Paris, 1974. A suggestive study is that of Patrice Sicard, Maurras or Maurras,
Paris, 1974, Yves Chiron, The Life of Maurras, 2nd ed., Perrin, Paris, 1999. For this
which is from the reading of Charles Maurras himself, abundant, we will refer to
Major works, Paris, 1954 (four volumes).

It should be noted that Maurras was part of a whole current of young thinkers.
right-wing freethinkers and remarkable that the first Action Française, a 'veri-
The 'ideas laboratory table' was intended to bring people together. Among those present we

consisting of questioning step by step what turned out to be a false
knowledge, an abusive assumption, a cheap humanism—all
things he associated with Democracy. In this respect, the most
A representative example of Maurras's work is the Inquiry into the Monarchy, in which he
he continues his questioning of the 'learned' interlocutors, soliciting their
intelligence, to confront them with the evidence, grounded in reason, of the
The benevolent and salvific nature of the Monarchy. Let us quote this text.
characteristic:

The necessity of the Monarchy is demonstrated as a theorem.
the desire to preserve our French homeland once established as a
The postulate is that everything is linked, everything is deduced from an inevitable movem
Fantasy, the choice itself, have no part in it: if you have resolved
If you are a patriot, you will necessarily be a royalist. But if you are
thus led to the Monarchy, you are not free to veer towards the
Liberalism, towards democracy or their substitutes. The reason...
wanna.

The defining characteristic of Maurras' political thought is to promote this
which he calls, in explicit reference to the positivism of Auguste Comite,
an 'organizing empiricism,' that is to say, a pragmatic organization
of a society that is not based on abstract theories or
Slogan ideas such as 'Justice', 'Freedom', 'Equality', etc.
which he described, this time in reference to Aristophanes, as 'Clouds'.

Such a project is, in the ideological climate of the time, quite
remarkable. Maurras wants to escape the trap of 'Ideas', the conflict
A sterile collection of words that no definition ever clarifies.
'Grand principles' must be evaluated, measured against the yardstick of pen-
sed and not of passion. This thought, however, is not indis-
Interested but biased. Its function is to illuminate the search for the property
of the city. Maurras's reason is political.

Maurras's organizing empiricism draws on two sources:
on the one hand, a fundamental reflection on the social condition of
man, on the other hand, from the critical consideration of the lessons of
history.

Bainville, Pierre Lasserre, Hugues Rebell, Lucien Moreau, Jules Soury, George
Valois, Léon de Montesquiou, etc.

* This very famous text is part of the common understanding of the monarchism of Action Fr
It is included in all the collections of selected texts. Thus, in Without the Wall of
after ..., Arles, 1941, p. 129. We can add to it this other one, which we have not been ab
Find the reference: 'If you have resolved to be a patriot, you will be obligated-
'Royalist, reason dictates it'.

With the first, Maurras develops an ambitious anthropo-
social order, of a philosophical type. Natural Politics is its chief principle.
of work. Maurras takes the opposite stance to the thought of Jean-
Jacques Rousseau declaring that man is born free

Historical reason, for its part, presents two aspects. It syn-
thesis, under the concept of 'tradition', the positive experiences accumulated
shaped over the centuries by royal policy. As such
is by its very nature 'critical', tradition also strives to retain the lessons
unfortunate events of the past to avoid their repetition. Politics
Maurrassianism aims to be simultaneously an instigator, restorer, and
salutary.

Maurras thought he could deduce, by induction, some laws
undeniable. He notes the consistently disastrous effects of Democracy,
this organized war." He notes that the monarchical regime has
However, a constant improvement in conditions was assured
of the existence of the French nation," which he has also historically
constituted.

It is within the context of this specific political project that Maurras
developed an analysis of the 'Jewish question' which aimed to resolve the
practical problem of the place that Jews should occupy in
the framework of a royal, non-democratic, and 'decentralized' state.

And that's also what gave it its unique character. Indeed, Maurras
does not react emotionally—like a Drumont or a Céline,

This fundamental text served as the preface to My Political Ideas, Fayard, Paris,
1937. It was included in the second volume of the Capital Works, Paris, 1954.

5 Maurras also opposes Hobbes, for whom the state of nature would be

a state of war. For the theorist of Action Française, man is an 'heir',
He finds not only 'number, time, dimension' (Pascal) at birth, but a ber-
ceau and a 'roupe ame' which welcomes it. The nation is likewise a 'amuhé'.

5 It is interesting to note that Maurras developed this 'Physics' at a time when
that where, 'a half-Buddhist contemplator', À showed no preference for a
particular system: 'By a contradiction that will only surprise those who have forgotten
their youth, I felt, at the same moment, an extremely vivid awakening within me, a
a taste for disinterested curiosity about the precise relationship that the insti- can sup
tutions or laws with the weakness or strength of states, with good fortune or misfortune
associated men. Very insensitive to personal preferences (I had none)
moreover), to the theoretical precedence (all of which canceled each other out in my eyes)
worked, with genuine passion, towards the lateral problem of the yield of each
regime" (At the Sign of Flora, Paris, 1933, p. 10) Quite quickly, however, Maurras will re
to overcome his youthful skepticism. Having concluded that the monarchy was beneficial, he
to embrace its cause—which is one of public safety. His political action will seek to be p
in the wake of civilization: inherit what works, pass it on and modify it
by adapting it to new situations.

For example. On the contrary, this anti-Semitism irritates him immensely.
It's not that he condemns it morally (and in that respect one can say
that there is a genuine moral bankruptcy on his part). Quite simply,
He's 'off the mark'. Philosophically, he's absurd, and polite-
Tickly, it is ineffective. Leaving aside his personal feelings,
He claims to be establishing an objective analysis in order to draw the consequences-
These are the necessary policies. It is therefore a work of reason.

Whether hostility and rejection surface or are frequently expressed, it is
obvious. One can find in his articles (more rarely in his
published works) formulas that fall under the category of anti-Semitism
cruder. From this point of view, Maurras inherited Judeophobia
ambient and it participates in it. 1! is a link in the chain. Yet,
This Judeophobia cannot, on its own and legally, be called into question.
the theory is 'positively' grounded. Situated on a political plane, it
develops solely within this framework. Claiming to be a work of reason,
That is why she is demanding that it be judged.

Maurras therefore begins by questioning the place of the Jews
occupy a place within the French nation. Three major truths emerge.
in his eyes:

a. The Jewish people are a distinct and self-distinguished people, who do not
can neither assimilate nor wants to.

b. because of his religious tradition he is a stranger to the world of civilization
the system to which the French nation belongs.

c. the contribution of Jews to the work of creating the French nation-
Their intellectual influence is almost nil and their intellectual influence is entirely negative.

It follows that the Jews cannot, unless they renounce individual-
visually to their identity, to be fully French. It is a
It's an illusion to think they could.

This explains the political truth that Jews tend to be
'revolutionaries' (meaning: republicans, democrats, progressives, etc.)
in the state, while being 'inseminators' of themselves.' Why? Because
that, in their group logic, they know that it is an organization

7 Maurras takes up this expression from Bernard Lazare's key book, Anti-Semitism,
Its history and its causes, Paris, 1894, which he claims corroborates his statements...

democratic formation of society (equality of rights) which will ensure them
the maximum number of possibilities and freedom, without, however, them desiring-
renting and using it. Never within a national solidarity framework.

Jews, therefore, cannot be citizens like any other.
They are a 'fat in the State' just like the Protestants, the 'Foreigners'
and the Freemasons with whom they 'confederated' against the interests
national debts of the French. It is therefore appropriate to take note of this.
and to act accordingly. In short, it's about doing the exact opposite of
what the Revolution achieved: granting them nothing as citizens but everything their
to be recognized as a people. Jews have their place in French society:
It is not a question of expelling them, nor of converting them against their will.
There may even be an advantage to welcoming foreigners. They train-
will form an organized community that the French royal state recognizes
will protect and to which it will grant, within the framework of a status
privileged and limited, common or specific rights, and a wide
autonomy. By doing so, the Jews will be able to satisfy their desire to be
themselves, without promoting through their intrigues the ruinous ideals of
so-called progressivism.

It is a fair, realistic, and ultimately generous solution to the question-
Jewish tradition. Everyone benefits: the Jews, whose specific
and traditions are recognized; the French who, having returned to the
Having complete control over their destiny, they will be able to develop their own. Maurra
insists that this is nothing more than 'state anti-Semitism', which is entirely ra-
stunned and reasonable, foreign and even contrary to the anestheticism of
'skin' which is, and this is precisely the case to say, epidermal, that is-
That is to say, irrational and unfounded. A passion fueled by racist antisemitism.

It is necessary to oppose the light of reason and sound judgment.
things.

At this point, we feel it necessary to cite three texts that characterize...
ristiques. They do indeed present a synthetic and illustrious character.
will cover the various aspects discussed so far:

First text:

THE JEWISH QUESTION.—The Jewish question is not entirely synonymous with
It is done in conjunction with that of the foreigners, although it is confined to it. Let

8 According to Maurras, by using the 'rights' of the
citizens, the Jews (like the other 'confederate states') show great hab-
(literacy and efficiency). In this democratic game, nationals are the big losers.
a feeling of dispossession of power, political or otherwise, is characteristic of
nationalist thoughts.

Not to the pogrom! Nor to the crematorium! Nor to legal castration! Nor to
Mendel's laws! In the midst of the occupation, we publicly said
to Professor Montandon, anthropologist and philoboan, that we were not
not for the slight racist undertone of his 'skin-based antisemitism'. He doesn't
It's not about saying 'Death to the Jews' who have the right to life, like
all creatures, but: 'Down with the Jews' because they ascended
far too high in our country. Our state-sponsored antisemitism consists of
to take back from them and to forbid them what they have taken in excess, and, in pre-
Firstly, French nationality, which they already possess and which is indelible,
And that they still keep, in fact. Let that suffice for them! She had her
glories and it has just recovered a beautiful territory in the Middle East,
which could open up to our Jews this territorial base that is lacking in
their status as foreigners. Justice only requires that the Jews having
rendered important services of peace or war to the Country, whether or not
not frustrated. Their person has acquired a title to our nationality; it
must enjoy it personally.

But are they capable of passing it on? Their tradition and their spirit do not
Aren't they too complex and unusual to guarantee anything?
against the centrifugal, or rather gallifuge, role of their brain? Each
The Jewish generation must be allowed to earn and deserve this fine rank;
They are warmly invited."

Second text:

THE QUALITY OF BEING FRENCH.—French anti-Semitism has nothing to do with

racist and he rejects any biological basis. The only Frenchman who
It was Count Gobineau who succumbed to this absurd tall tale.
Action Française has always been a target of ridicule. We called its
rare adherents of 'skin-deep anti-Semites', in contrast to our
'State-sponsored antisemitism'.

In our country, the historical contribution of Jewish service is limited.
not to say nothing. The French nation has existed for fifteen hundred
years at least. Not only did the Jew not help, like the others
French, sons of Frenchmen, to build our rural land—for at
we the Jew is not a peasant—{[...] but son] cannot allege a role
constructive in any way in the birth of our unity. The French unity-
This was done by our kings, our bishops, our monks. The Jews of
France cannot even claim the same as England, what-
that man of their people who had rendered, like Disraeli, great
national political services. Our Jews have intervened in our lives.
political, but essentially divisive, therefore destructive.

One can love France without calling oneself its son. One can love the
French without calling oneself their brother. One can very well live in France.

* Your beautiful today, Paris, 1953, pp. 457 and 458 (this lengthy letter addressed to
Vincent Auriol appeared after the death of Maurras).

as generations of Jews lived there with delight, without wearing
the misleading name of French.

The quality of being French is not a natural right of every man.
Humanity wants us to provide security for the Jews who reside in our country.
Safety, respect, kindness, justice, with all the best for friendship
possible. It is not fair to award the title of French to those who
are not in accordance with the nature and history of the French.

Third text:

UNDER THE OLD MONARCHY.—In the midst of feudal anarchy-
Dale, as if by virtue of our revolutionary anarchy, the Jews
had squeezed the poor people as best they could, and, to the best of their ability,
deceived and misled the powerful: usurers for some, astrologers and
doctors for the others, they had given themselves! Result, the eternal result-
tat, the national uproar against these exploitative and leech foreigners,
charlatans and deceivers.

The King of France was at the head of the movement (...).

Jewish power, once subdued, in its financial resources, in its
With this positive result achieved, the Monarchy, fueled by a fever of intellectual corrup
having worked with the Church, not to a 'skin-based antisemitism', that
Both repudiated him, just as we repudiated him ourselves,
but to a 'state anti-Semitism', the ghetto having been established, that is to say
a privileged public and private legislation in favor of the Jews—because
It's wrong to 'think that I think' the shameful ghetto—all the inconveniences—
The agents of the Jewish microbe were prepared... This allowed for many choices
Yes! If, abroad, a neighbor were to exaggerate somewhat against the Jews,
It could be advantageous for the kingdom to offer them places of safety.
Did the Jews stay in their place? Did the Jews provide services?
"To the State and the nation, why would the kings have shunned them?"

The Presuppositions

To fully understand what is at stake, it is necessary not to
not to get too hung up on accents and formulas, often detestable, which
accompany the speech. The Maurrassian doctrine, yet another
times, affirms its logical and therefore 'reasonable' character.

Beyond the displayed positivism, it is actually the classical model

10 Charles Maurras, Political and Critical Dictionary, article 'Jews', Charles Cauers
Maurras, Paris, 1961.
1 Action française, November 21, 1938.

of reason, which Maurras constantly invokes. This last point is essential.
to the individual; thought is not freedom, it is 'semi-ness'. It
unfolds in a register foreign to feelings. Maurras will say that a
An idea cannot be 'poisonous'; it is either true or false. However,
“Thought should not disdain feeling.”

The reason, therefore, does not stem from a value choice. It is true
that such a fundamental choice must be made at the outset; but it is the
reason which, like a cold and harsh sun, must illuminate the conduct.
Once the common good of the city and the 'amute' in the nation
were recognized and chosen by the heart to constitute the ultimate goal, it
one must submit to the reasonable and benevolent order that ensures it.
From this perspective, state anti-Semitism is, for Maurras, the
A rigorous conclusion to nationalism properly understood.

Let us grant for a moment that such a conclusion is necessary on the basis
of the premises mentioned previously. The question then arises:

A truly critical question: do these constitute a basis?
so solid, historically established and, ultimately, 'empirically
Are they observable? The answer is no.

Had Maurras then been mistaken? Misled in the sense of making a mistake
Calculation? Certainly not. The failure lies elsewhere. Behind objectivity
whether desired or displayed—it doesn't matter—one can recognize the presence
of certain presuppositions. These are what prevented [Fauras] from
to judge things well, as he aspired to do.
Let's consider two examples: Maurras was able to observe what was obvious
in everyone's eyes: the massive involvement of Jews in the movement
of emancipation and in the republican or progressive camp. But
His mistake was not fully grasping the implications of what he was signing.
He was being biased. Following only his prejudice, he saw it as nothing more than a tactic
How can we ignore that the Jews, in emancipating themselves, adopted the most

® 'Imagination, sensitivity and reason, when they are in harmony, make
the common salvation of the world' (Without the wall. .., op. «it., p. 49).

The notion of 'order' is a key concept for Maurras. It could be that he is
transformed by a Thomistic influence: 'Nationalism, with its vital intuition that it
was at the dawn of Action Française, becomes in the practice of the league member a means
to reject the passage of time and its dispossession. Its fusion with the Catholic concept-
than a natural order," the void of its power. 'The being of France', an ambiguous idea
In Maurras, this acquires in his disciples the fixed nature of an acquired character. Fina
organizing empiricism, based on the 'by extension' evaluation of spatial data
relative temporalities, is supplanted by a kind of doctrinal catechism bristling with
definitions" (P. Sicard, op. cit, p. 56).

generally the loyalties, moods and passions of the countries where they
Did they live there? In short, did they love them and feel like an integral part of them?
And that, without abandoning —as often happened — their belief
And their loyalties meant they no longer defined themselves exclusively as sons
of Israel, but also as members of the French nation?
Maurras, however, denies that Jews can become deeply attached to
mentally and permanently to their adopted country. Which means that,
For him, Jews never adopt any country. Only their identity
Their Jewish identity is unconditional and, as we have seen, 'indelible'. Here is what
cuallécrit
This is not about stigmatizing a race. It is even less about persecuting-
to ter and to defame a religion. It is about protecting a people, the little-
French people, from the vicinity of a people who, on the whole, live in him
as a body distinct from it, for the Jewish characters are in the
Jews are far more active than French characters, always in the ensemble-
There are many cases. I believe I know of some beautiful and significant exceptions.
I followed others closely for several years. I saw what

becomes a Jewish milieu, initially patriotic and nationalist, when the pas-
the sion of his distinctly Jewish interests suddenly springs forth: then, under pressure
that, for sure, everything changes, including habits of heart and mind
acquired over one or two generations are being disrupted by the
awakening of much deeper natural factors, those that come
of being Jewish. *
This, according to him, was one of the great lessons of the Dreyfus affair:
the 'ribu' and the most patriotic among them were ready to lower the
France and its Army for the salvation of just one of its own, perhaps unjust-
accused of wrongdoing—but who outside of the general staff could have known?
Let us recall at this point that the question posed by the Affair was for
He was primarily a politician. The problem of Dreyfus's innocence
was fundamentally indifferent and, according to him, he should be indifferent in the eyes
every Frenchman aware of the national interest in a critical period
that of a latent confrontation with Germany. Very likely,

4 Charles Maurras, Political and Critical Dictionary, article 'Jews, Cahers Charles
Maurras, 1961.

5 It is very interesting to read what Daniel Halévy, a militant Dreyfusard, wrote,
on the 'dilemma of Charles Maurras' in his Apology for our past, Paris, 1911.
For Halévy, Maurras's attitude was reasonable as long as the Affair was not
which became a state matter. After which, it became untenable: '{it was no longer a questi
The peace of France and the peace of Dreyfus, for a prodigious upheaval already existed. W
A remedy for this problem? We saw only one: to go to the source, to clean up the very four
you had to know' (quoted by Pierre Boutang, op. cit., p. 175).

Maurras would just as easily have sacrificed the honor of an innocent Frenchman.
French and Catholic if the salvation of the Fatherland depended on it. We know
his position:

I don't want to get into the old innocent versus guilty debate. My
The first and last opinion on this matter was that, if by chance Dreyfus were
Innocent, he should have been named Marshal of France, but to shoot a
dozen of his main defenders for the triple harm they were doing
To France, to Peace, to Reason!

It's not that he considers himself a theorist or a practitioner of the
Reason of state. On the contrary, Maurras asserts that there are laws
more fundamental than those of the City; later, he will dedicate
a work in the style of Sophocles' Antigone, which he will describe as 'Trenger-ferous'
of the Order', as if she were a saint. In this work, he
Creon denounces the malevolent figure of state tyranny.
Did Maurras realize that anti-Semitism, whether based on skin color or
of the State, was precisely the major obstacle to the assimilation of the Indians

vidus) to which he claimed to generously invite (cf. the end of the
first text cited}? How could a Jew ever marry
the French identity with all his heart when, incessantly, his qua-
Is the label of eternal 'foreigner' thrown in his face? It is upon hearing
the cries of 'Death to the Jews' during the captain's degradation

15 At the Sign of Flora, Paris, 1933, p. 55. Maurras continues: 'However, against all
common sense and from morning till night, the Street, the Café, the Salon, the Theatre, th
The lectures echoed with the same questions:

– Was Alfred Dreyfus a traitor? Did he betray his country (or our country)? Did he do
To transfer the documents listed in the memorandum to a foreign power? Wasn't it-
He is not the victim of a conspiracy or, perhaps, of his own attempts to counter-
espionage?

I repeated, like Anatole France in his early days:

– What do you want me to say? You can't judge a case that was debated at
Behind closed doors, when we don't have the file. Before judging, we should know the facts
'Before appreciating, know'.

– Your reasoning, an old handsome fellow told us, is purely formal.

Less old but less beautiful, a lady added:

– This system is completely dry!

The wet element was to come, seventeen years later, through the streams of blood

that hundreds of thousands of French people poured from the Meuse to the Vardar in very

a direct and very perfect consequence of everything imposed by the Dreyfus affair: at
Morally, there is hatred of the military spirit, and in terms of equipment, disarmament ir

as loving iron' (pp. 55, 56, 57).

7 Geneva, 1948. Pierre Boutang, a disciple of Maurras (see note 1), debated with
his friend George Steiner on the theme of Antigone as part of the television program-
'Oceanic' target. The text of the dialogue was published by Éditions Jean-Claude
Lattès, under the title: Dialogues on the myth of Antigone and the sacrifice of Abraham, F

Dreyfus, whom Theodore Herzl, the most assimilated of the assimilated, understood
that, decidedly, Jews would never be like others by
the fault of the anti-Semites.

A more specific presupposition relates to the worldview of
Maurras. He was a 'pagan', a lover of ancient Greece

and of Latinity. Maurras hated Christianity for a very long time.
which he denounced, notably in the story The Servants of His Way
of Paradise.'® Xl is also grateful to Catholicism, to the Church of Order',
for having fostered an admirable, 'organic' (Comte) civilization, by being
what he called, to the great scandal of the many devotees of Action
French, the 'poison of the Gospels'...

But what is this poison? It is a Ywf poison," that of the 'four Jews'
obscure": the evangelists. We undoubtedly find here a key to its
Doctrine: The Jewish people are the people of Judaism. And what is
Judaism? An 'Eastern' religion, fiery, enthusiastic, revolutionary
tionary," to put it simply: rhetorical." Everything that Maurras abhorred
and which is, in any case (Lamennais not included), something
something foreign to the national '#radihion'." Judaism represents
For Maurras, this eternal ferment of anarchy, revolt, and appeal to
the destruction of the city in the name of formal ideals and a God
abstract. According to him, it is impossible to ignore the kinship which
It delves deeply into the Jewish Prophecy and the spirit of the Revolution.

18 Charles Maurras, The Road to Paradise, Paris, 1895. The story had appeared in
the Revue bleue on April 30, 1892.

1 Among the numerous works devoted by Maurras to the religious question,
Let us mention: Marc Sangnier's Dilemma, Paris, 1906; Religious Poetics, Paris,
1912; The Religious Democrat, Paris, 1921. Pol Vandromme devoted a book to this
aspect of Maurras' thought: Charles Maurras, the Church of Order, Paris, 1968.

2 Jacques Paugam writes: 'If the sacred texts are violently criticized, it is in
Their social consequences: they present themselves as the symbol of barbarity that has com
from the East, demonstrating a rejection of intelligence and a cult of the unreal which in
mysticism is present in the reasoning: by its dogmas, the Old Testament is not
that the book of anarchy and widespread stupefaction; these texts exalt the pas-
unbridled sion and permanent revolution'. Quoted by P. Sicard, op. cit., p. 30.

2 "Catholicism offers the only tolerable idea of God today in a
A well-policed state. The others risk becoming public dangers. Among the elderly
Israelites, the prophets chosen by God apart from the priestly people, were
subjects of disorder and unrest. Since its national misfortunes, Pont
freed from any regular principality and often from any priesthood, the monotheistic Jew
and nourished by the prophets, and became—Mr. Bernard Lazare and James Darmesteter
They don't hide it from us—a revolutionary agent. Protestantism stems from the Jew:
monotheism, prophecy, anarchism, at least of thought' (three political ideas,
Crès, 1923, pp. 64-70).

jump JEAN-MARC JOUBERT

This is, in fact, another lesson of the Dreyfus Affair: the Jews
they not only demonstrated their partisan solidarity but also the harmful
the speed of their religious instinct which gave a political question a

almost mystical dimension: 'Truly, truly, we are right'
To put it bluntly, Dreyfusism is a belated parody of Christianity.
It was therefore almost inevitable that Maurras would nurture the politico-
tic, analogous to the religious one of the Catholic Church, which consists
aimed to neutralize Judaism and confine it within fairly limited boundaries

narrow the rights of individuals supposedly so quick to ignite.

Assessment

The presuppositions we have discussed prevent us from considering that
Maurras' doctrine fulfills its project of being an objective analysis.
tive of reality.

One cannot fail to note here the very profound ignorance that
reactionary, traditionalist, monarchist positivist currents
or right-wing revolutionaries, but also left-wing movements, have
manifested in his time with regard to the true nature of the
Judaism, Jewish life and mentality, its thought at last.

Because of his ignorance of true Judaism, Maurras never ceases
to reason from the fiction of a wild 'Hebraism', indi-
dualistic and anarchic, which has absolutely nothing to do with reli-
the path of the Sages and the Oral Torah. It is even the opposite that
It is true: the Jew has a Law that regulates his impulses in all things.
The man of Halakhah is, par excellence, the one who masters himself and

Action française, January 1, 1901. Let us add to this text this analysis by Hugues
Rebell, which clearly shows that Dreyfusism was considered in its time as
a kind of religion: 'The Dreyfus affair did not cause so much harm without offering...'
free spirits, a historical lesson that must not be lost. She showed how-
How can a religion be created? What madness, a suspicious, mediocre, and unpleasant being!
If he only has pride and stubbornness, what half-hearted risks can he take?
His intelligence can seduce, and how he even manages to convert the mind without
defense and timid judgment. It is likely that about two thousand years ago,
The adventure was similar. We still bear the marks of it. The heroic struggle of
Voltaire did not triumph over our stupidity. Even today's Voltaireans do not
They don't realize that to truly love Voltaire, one must begin by putting
the Bible, among books of mythology, and among treatises on human diseases?
(text quoted by P. Sicard, op. cit., p. 31).

does not give in to an 'enthusiasm' which is the eternal temptation
the nature of idolatry—or its result.

It is true that it is convenient for him to describe it as Jewish, that is to say-
To call 'barbaric' any doctrine that does not please him. That is
as Maurras said of Rousseau that he was an 'adventurer nourished by
"Hebrew revolt" It's nothing less than very short.

A paradox must be pointed out here. The political solution
that Maurras reserved for the Jews was essentially what Judaism...
The more orthodox and traditional might perhaps have desired to
better... Either: a ghetto Judaism that would have preserved the com-
community of many contaminations from the outside world, of a
active, 'civic' belonging to a 'nation', and would have assured him,
at the price of a low-cost allegiance to the King of France, the trans-
quality of his religious practice and of an exclusively Jewish life and
community. As we know, Emancipation, in the course of the ten-
ninth century European, was far from appealing to many commun-
those who saw in it—wrongly?—a formidable danger.

It is doubtful that Maurras succeeded in meeting his challenge of cons-
to destroy and to justify a reasonable state anti-Semitism that does not borrow-
He said nothing about skin-deep antisemitism. On one hand, his 'positivism' is
real. He refuses to speak of Jews in terms of 'race' in the ethnic sense.
that of the term:

Jewish blood then? No. It's not something essentially
physical. This is the historical state of a member of the Jewish people, the fact
to have lived and to live connected to this community, sometimes growing up, sometimes-
Early lowered, always vibrant.

In To Awaken the Great Judge, he also writes:

23 Preface to the definitive edition of Romanticism and Revolution, Paris, 1922, p. 6. Mau
he also wrote: 'In those days, beyond the French border, the VII or the flourished
8th century: the century of modern civilization. He entered it as one of those false pro-
phètes who, vomited from the desert, adorned with an old sack, hundreds of camel hair and
their heads soiled with ashes, carried their melancholy howls through the
streets of Zion: tearing their hair out, ripping their rags and mingling their palms
In the garbage, they sullyed people with their hatred and contempt. But the Paris of
1750 bore no resemblance whatsoever to a bad Asian town populated by Jews
filthy. Thoughtful and graceful head of the intellectual universe, capital of a monarch-
Still powerful, everything that was done there developed gloriously everywhere
the rest of the inhabited earth. It was this magnificent thing that he turned into a calam
At the sign of Flora, Maurras speaks of 'the almost Semitic imagination of a Plato' (p. 23

Jews are considered in France as a race in the most
large (...). When we want to speak precisely, we say that the Jews

form 'a people', because we know very well that this people did not recruit itself solely by birth and blood: tribes, nations entire groups joined him by being circumcised at relatively different times. close to us. Israel, like all peoples, has at its origin gine, a core group of sister families, which were united by the a succession of other families, related or not; but a common history united them by the successive bonds of a common language and territory. common history, customs, laws, arts, trades, actions military, religious life, to the extent that these elements join and combine without contradicting each other.

However, this people, which is a people, this Jewish people, is not a a people like any other, in that it has no territory which belongs to it be particular."

But, on the other hand, Maurras often speaks of the Jews as if they ultimately participated in some Platonic Essence, or as if they were defining an eternal type. We saw this earlier. to use the characteristic expression "to be Jewish." Perhaps this is Moreover, this is the translation of an unacknowledged fascination.

Maurras's antisemitism cannot be understood and assessed in ignoring an essential element of his worldview—gift- born, for which one could find equivalents in most thoughts reactionaries. This fact is as follows: a very keen awareness, which could be described as tragic, which everything he summarizes by the word 'order' and which designates beauty, harmony, disciplined strength born—all things that are found in the lofty notion of 'it- "Is ization —is constantly threatened with annihilation." This feeling of infinite fragility — a few days are enough to undo the work- the maturation process of centuries—leads him to cast a suspicious glance— new on any ideology or force likely to provoke or to hasten the end of civilization. The French Revolution, regicide and destroyer of a millennia-old tutelary order, being the very one who He emancipated the Jews, and they quite naturally became suspects. Note that Maurras is not, strictly speaking, a nostalgic and that his non-traditionalist monarchism and at heart

** To awaken the Great Judge, Paris, 1951.
% For the concept of order, see Order and Disorder: Positive Ideas and Revolution,

Paris, 1947. For the sense of threat, see the Postscript to the reissue of The Way de Paradis, Paris, 1927.

Quite modern, as we were saying, is pragmatic; it does not remain so

unless he readily finds (and invents) enemies. This is not
Not one of its less unpleasant aspects. So it's not necessarily-
lies out of a priori, primary and primal hatred, that anti-Semitism
Maurras's policy develops: it is the crystallization of an anxiety
fundamental study. I] is not the expression of a triumph, but that
from the fear of a definitive historical defeat (while 'the Jews,
They always manage to get away with it'); in other words, it is defensive.

No doubt, it is also advantageous to burden others with the res-
responsibility of the avatars of history: in doing so, we avoid considering-
to understand the true limits of one's own civilization.

Conclusion

Maurras's true anti-Semitism, its causes and consequences, are
quite different from the one commonly attributed to him and convenient-
ment. If there is indeed, in Finkielkraut's words, a 'fwÿf
"imaginatre," one cannot ignore the existence of an 'imagina- anti-Semite'
'naire' to which the real anti-Semite does not entirely correspond. The anti-
Semitism being rightly despised and proscribed, it is considered
Overall – without distinctions. That seems morally healthier.

This is how it was built around the person of Maurras
a dark legend which, to a considerable extent, is foreign to the
reality. In the minds of many, Maurras could only be a
Antisemitism is racist, with antisemitism and racism going hand in hand. Yet,
The reality is more complex. If Maurras inherited anti-Semitism
imbecile and—whatever he might have thought—barbarian who penetrated from all-
Throughout his time in French society, he never allowed himself to believe that
Jews were considered some inferior entity by virtue of their race. It is not
so he didn't enter into the 'hobard' which many people in his camp
found it advantageous to believe.

Dare we say that, all things considered, Maurras' anti-Semitism
seems, especially when measured against a few others, 'rela-
"tively" benign—even if his anger and the violence of his words
made it particularly painful and dangerous?" It is not certain, from

2% Alain Finkielkraut The Imaginary Jew, Le Seuil, Paris, 1980.
7. We cannot ignore the fact that Xavier Vallat, the Commissioner
The journal "Les Questions juives" was a sympathizer of Action Française; he was one of th

In fact, the condition that the royal state dreamed of by Maurras would have granted
for the Jews would have been catastrophic: 'simply', if one dares say so,
They would not have been full citizens... And that's precisely...

This is where, in our view, the real problem lies, both politically and
of both tic and reason, of his state anti-Semitism: Maurras was, it seems
incapable of imagining a model of belonging to the French nation
A Frenchman who embraced complete loyalty to foreign roots. A
A Provençal or a Breton could remain attached to customs that
The 'decentralized' monarchy would, moreover, be far more honorable than the
Republic. Is not the Monarchy, according to an old golden saying-
Dr. Achon, French anarchy plus one? But it wasn't a matter of
even for the Jew, who is by definition eternally a foreigner.

Is this an 'enlightened' anti-Semitism? The doctrine would claim so.
But her project cannot succeed if the 'empirical' knowledge she
Assuming one has Jewish knowledge is actually a superficial understanding.
truncated. Where knowledge and, Bergson would add, sympathy make
By default, the 'enlightenment' is absent... How can one justify a thought
a policy based on such ignorance of the region.
culture, the mentality of a people whose culture she nevertheless wants to regulate
Destinies? But what anti-Semite has ever bothered to find out more?
Hence the surprise and, often, the admiration that the heroic birth
the State of Israel has provoked many anti-Semites {such as
Thierry Maulnier, Pierre Boutang and, at least in part, Maurras:.
The fact is that, left to his own devices, the Jew revealed himself to be very different f
the one whose image was lazily transmitted by teaching

'Contempt'?

authors of the second 'Statute on Jews', some provisions or formulas of which bear
the mark of Maurras' anti-Semitism.
28 'Ti a celestial book ne _ :
Title of a famous book by Jules Isaac, Paris, 1962. However, we should add,
« = +) n ' .
In conclusion, knowledge does not necessarily lead to sympathy.

This observation was suggested to us by Dominique Bourrel's remarkable lecture.
at our Colloquium.

GERMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY, 19TH CENTURY GERMAN
NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE JEWS

Jeffrey Andrew Barash

The eight decades following the outbreak of the French Revolution
and the subsequent French occupation of the German territories, as
of a large part of Europe, witnessed the emergence of the German
national identity, which culminated in the foundation of the German
state under Prussian domination in 1871. Not fortuitously, during

this period of state building scholarly investigation of Germany's past and of its relation to European and to world history played a role of unprecedented significance, not only in German universities, but for the educated public as a whole.

In the following paper I will deal with two German historians who were of particular importance in their public capacities as official historiographers of the Prussian State, Leopold von Ranke (1796–1886) and his successor Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1886). Each of these historians simultaneously occupied the chair of modern history at the University of Berlin and Heinrich von Treitschke, who was active as the Prussian State historian at the time of the foundation of the German Reich, was elevated to the position of historian of the German nation. My purpose will be to trace a radical shift in attitude that becomes visible in the different conceptions of the German national identity in the writings of these two official historiographers. Certainly this shift may in part be accounted for by diferences in personal temperament. In what follows, however, [will argue that this shift also reflects a more general change in attitude within Germany as a whole. At the conclusion of my analysis of the shift between the respective conceptions of the German national identity tity of Leopold von Ranke and of Heinrich von Treitschke, I will relates this change to their respective conception of the Jews. Let us begin by turning to Ranke's idea of German national identity and then deal with that of Treitschke.

Ranke was born in 1795 into a pious Protestant family in the German region of Thüringen. His deep roots in Lutheran faith and in Lutheran tradition nourished the whole of his subsequent reflection on the meaning of history.! Rankc undertook his studies in philology and theology at the Universities of Leipzig and Halle between 1814 and 1818. At this time in Germany Hegels influence was at its height. It was Hegel above all who, beginning especially with his epochmaking work Phänomenologie des Gaistes (1807), accorded to fundamental role to historical reflection joined to the method of speculative philosophy. In this work as in his later lectures of the 1820s, the orlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte, Hegel posited that deepening self-consciousness self-consciousness of Spirit culminating in the modern world calls forth a corresponding deepening of historical reflection: not only does modern civilization remember its past—either in the form of original remembrance of historical events one has experienced or in terms of later reflection on events recorded by others—but modernity endows itself with the capacity to raise understanding of world history to the level of philosophical understanding. In the terms of Hegels philosophy of history, historical awareness deepens in the various periods of development of world history. from oriental to Greek, Roman and modern German ciilizations, in relation to different national principles. But philosophy of history does not,

for Hegel, content itself with the contemplation of human pollution life or other mortal affairs. In his boldest formulation of his philosopy of history in the Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte, Hegel went so far as to claim that philosophical reflection on world history in the modern period might detect the historical unfolding of a divine purpose and, as he claimed in the final paragraph of this work, serve as theodicy, justification of Providence within the historical realm (Rechtfertigung Gottes in der Geschichte)." Bevond the arena

! For an excellent analysis of Ranke's conception of history see the classic study by Leonard Krieger, Ranke: The Meaning of History, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977; regarding the image of the Jews in German historiography more generally see: Hans Liebeschütz, Das Judentum im deutschen Geschichtsbild von Hegel bis Max Weber, Mohr, Tübingen, 1967.

? GWF Hegel, Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte, Werke, vol. XII, Suhrkamp, Frankfurt am Main, 1995, p. 540.

of changing events, philosophical reflection on the historical provided the possibility of reconciliation of finitude with the infinite, of ephemeral ity with the eternal.

The generation of Ranke and of the German historical school which came to predominance after Hegel's death in 1831, in spite of their conviction concerning the fundamental importance of historical reflection, did not hesitate to express their skepticism Cerning Hegel's claim to grasp the meaning of history on the basis of philosophical reason, in the framework of an all-encompassing system. Beginning with his first historical work published in 1824, Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Vôlker von 1494 1514, Ranke's principal interest was directed not toward the reconstruction of history according to abstract philosophical concepts but toward the reconstitution of the complexity of historical events in relation to national principles in their singularity. This is the meaning of the famous statement of his aim in this first of his historical works to understand the past 'wie es eigentlich gewesen'. And it is this love that Ranke sought to uphold over the course of the 54 volumes of his collected works, which include such classics as: Die grossen Machte (1833), Geschichte der Päpste in den letzten vier fahrhunderte (1836), 'Politisches Gespräch' (18536), Deutsche Geschichte im Zeatalter der Reformation (1839), Neun Bücher über preussischen Geschichte (1847), the national histories of France and of England in the 16th and 17th centuries, the series of lectures presented before King Maximilian of Bavaria in 1854, 'Über die Epochen der neueren Geschichte' and finally Weltgeschchte (1881 88). In the lectures 'Über die Epochen der neueren Geschichte', Ranke formulated his theoretical opposition to Hegelian philosophy of history in the following terms:

The philosophers, namely of the Hegelian school, have presented Ideas according to which the history of Humanity unravels like a logic process ... In Scholasticism, however, life perishes and thus this intuition of history as to Process of self-development of the Spirit according to logical categories is based on what we reject.*

3 'Die Philosophen namentlich aber die Hegelsche Schule hat...gewiss [deen You will be informed of the details of the Menschheit with a logischer Prozess. ..sich abstain. In der Scholastic aber geht das Leben unter und so würde auch diese Anschauung von Geschichte diesen Prozess des sich selbst nach verschiedenen logischen Kategorien entwickelnden Geistes auf das zurückführen was wir... ver- warfen'. Ranke, 'Über die Epochen der neueren Geschichte', Hans Hoffmann, ed. Leopold von Ranke: Ausgewählle Aufsätze und Meisterschrifien, Kroner, Stutigart, 1942, p. 143. Unless otherwise indicated all translations are my own.

As opposed to the Hegclian philosophy of history, Ranke presupposes posed that history is in no way reducible to rational principles because the singularity of national identities and the diversity of predominant tendencies that come to expression in different epochs are too het- erogenous to allow understanding of their unity. This is by no means tantamount to claiming that such unity does not exist, nor that history is bereft of meaning, but that the ultimate principles of historical coherence remains hidden from human understanding. In his opposition to Hegel's bold claim to have identified the work of Divine providence in the realm of the historical, Ranke's own con- vision concerning the supreme importance of historical understanding, placed in a more orthodox Lutheran perspective, led him back to earlier sources of historical reflection—most immediately to the works of Johann Gottfried Herder who was one of the favorite authors of his youth. Ranke's ruminations concerning the sacred foundations of the historical world, the unity of which remains hidden to human eyes, are strongly reminiscent of Herder's poignant statement in Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit (1774: On the Creator thinks the unity of one, of all Nations in their muluplicities.* And it is this emphasis on the opacity of ultimate principles of his- tory, infused by a hidden Divine purpose, and weaving into coher- ent unity the interaction of nations in their complex singularity, which informs the idea of the German identity found in Ranke's historical works.

What is Ranke's idea of German identity? This idea, it should be stated, did not spring from a purely intellectual conviction. It coim- cided with the emergence of a new political conservatism and of the revival of Lutheran orthodoxy among the ruling Prussian aristocracy during the decade prior to the revolution of 1848. After having been

nominated to a professorship at the University of Berlin following the publication of his Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Vülker von 1494–1514, Ranke frequented aristocratic circles in the salons of Bettina von Arnim and of Rahel Varnhagen. During a research trip to Venice he accompanied the young Prussian crown prince, who in 1840 acceded to the throne as Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Friedrich

Schöpfer allein ists, der die ganze Einheit einer, aller Nationen en ihrer Mannigfalugkeit denkt ...", Herder, Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschhat, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, p. 40.

Wilhelm's reign brought a reinforcement of conservative principles and to revival of the Lutheran orthodoxy which Leopold von Ranke favored. It is Friedrich Wilhelm IV who created the position of official court historiographer which Ranke then occupied. And the idea of German national identity that came to expression in Ranke's historical work was primarily inspired by the ethical and theological convictions corresponding to his conservative world-view. Let us examine them more closely.

If human understanding for Ranke is never capable of grasping the meaning of history as a coherent, unified process, it is nonetheless possible for it to attain limited knowledge of the historical world, which is for him invested with sacred significance. In spite of the Rankean critique of Hegels claim to grasp the providential principle ple impelling the movement of history, Ranke, no less than Hegel, was convinced of the sacred foundations of the historical world. In this sense, Ranke could make his famous statement in the 'Dialogue on Politics' that nations are 'Thoughts of God' or, in another pas- wise in this same dialogue, that: 'The Spirit of the State is, it 1s true, a divine breath, but it is the same impelled by humanity'.°

For Ranke, the historian's quest brings him before traces of divine revelation hidden in the history of particular nations. To the extent that nations—not only the German principalities but all nations—are 'Thoughts of God', each nation expresses in singular perspective a principal which is universal in scope. It is this universality in the veil of the singular that links each nation to a higher meaning; 1f ungraspable in its plenitude, this universality ties it to the opaque unity of the historical process. Ranke expresses this thought in a particularly eloquent passage which may be found at the beginning of his work Dre grofen Mächte:

It is not such an accidental surging together, falling upon or following- ing one another of States and peoples which world history presents, as it might seem at first sight. Nor is the often so dubious advance of

culture its singular purpose. These are forces and, it is true, spiritual forces giving impetus to life, which are indeed life; moral energies which we hold in their development. We cannot define them or subsume them under abstractions. We can however intuit them, perceive

5 “Der Geist des Staates ist zwar gôttlicher Anhauch, aber zugleich menschlicher Antrieb', Hans Hoffmann, ed., Leopold von Ranke: Ausgavwählte Aufsätze und Mersterschrifie more:

them, call forth empathy for their existence. They blossom unto the world and disappear. In the most manifold of expressions, they engange in conflict, limit and overcome each other. In their interaction and succession, in their life and their demise or rebirth ...lies the great mystery of world history.f

What is particularly striking in Ranke's view of history 1s his pre-supposition concerning the plurality of expressions of truth, which 1s related to the diversity of national traditions. Since each national tradition expresses a thought of God, even if in a partial, implicit, or ephemeral as it pleases, each nation possesses its own dignity. Far from any conviction of national or racial supremacy of any one nation, the vitality of nations, including that of the German nation, depends upon its capacity to incorporate the moral force that its umiversal principal imparts to it. Over the course of time any such principal degenerates into a simple interest, ma intained through political machi-nations or by means of a brute force void of spiritual purpose. According to the Rankean vision of the historical, however, such machinations must sooner or later give way to a superior moral principle main thing that opposes it.

In the aftermath of the 20th century, Ranke's ethico-theological conception of history seems to us 10 be the implausible expression of 19th century romanticism. From our perspective, the conviction springing from this romantic world view that the contest between competing national principles is ultimately decided by a superior moral aim, opaquely emanating from a sacred source, would seem to place Ranke's historiography in a dubious light. Indeed, once the larger romantic ethical-theological vision of the unity of history is placed in question, it is but a small step to the assertion that the

° There is no reason to worry about the damage caused by the damage, no matter what. Einanderfolgen, der Staaten und Vüälker bietet die Weltgeschichte dar wie es bei dem ersten Blick wohl aussieht. Also this is the reason why the order of the order is Kultur nicht ihr einziger Inhalt. If it is Kräfte und zwar geistige, Leben hervor-Bring the power to life, it's the energy, it's moral energy.

in ihrer Entwicklung erblicken. To define, unter Abstraktionen zu bringen, sind sie nicht; aber anschauen, wahrnehmen kann man sie, ein Mitgefühl ihres Daseins cann man sich erzeugen. If it's blue, don't die world, you'll see it in Dem mannigfaltigsten Ausdruck, bestreiten, beschränken, überwältigen einander in ihrer Wechselwirkung und Aufeinanderfolge, in ihrem Leben, ihrem Vergehen, oder ihrer Wiederbelebung, die dann immer grôssere Fülle, hôhere Bedeutung weiteren Umfang in sich schliefit, liegt das Geheimnis der Weltgeschichte'. Hans Hoffmann, ed., Leopold von Ranke: Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Meisterschrifien, p. 51.

historical process, in and of itself, is void of meaning. On one hand, such an assertion has led to the proposition that history manifests nothing more than an anarchy of values and that the recogniuon, on the basis of historical reflection, of a plurality of perspectives on truth opens the door to relativism (Leo Strauss). Where such an assertion inspires a return to the conviction concerning the existence of timeless, a-historical truth, more recent and radical skepticism concerning the meaningfulness of history as a process has, on the other hand, led to a conclusion of a very different order: doubt concerning the meaning the historian attributes to history has animated the conviction that such meaning derives from rhetorical modes of organization of historiographical discourse rather than from the empirical reality the historian claims to investigate (Hayden White).

Such critiques indeed level serious objections against the kind of historical method that Ranke inaugurated. The question remains, however, concerning the precise relationship between romantic ethico-theological world-view and the method Ranke espoused. To my mind, to central implication of Ranke's method reaches well beyond the confines of his 19th century world-view. Indeed, in his attempt to discern relative validity implicit in each of a plurality of national perspectives, Ranke formulated an ideal of impartiality in historical judgment which cannot be reduced to a mere value relativism nor, without grossiy oversimplifying the object of historical analysis, can such judgment be relegated to a simple rhetorical construct. Most important, if historical reflection per se is considered to lead to relativism or to be a mother product of the rhetorical imagination, we lose sight of the deeper implications of the Rankean ideal of impartiality that becomes particularly evident in a consideration of the nuances that distinguish essentially divergent types of historical analysis sis. These, however, are the nuances we seek to restore in our consideration of the shift in historiographical aim between two 19th century court historiographers, Leopold von Ranke and Heinrich von Treitschke. Let us briefly examine then the Rankean ideal of impartiality before focusing on the shift in historiographical representation of the German national identity that came into vogue with Treitschke.

In the wake of the 20th century and of decades of criticism of

19th century historical ideals and historical methods articulated from diverse theoretical perspectives, it has become customary to insist on the unavoidable bias of all historical analysis. After all, does historical

representation not served, often in subtle and even unintended ways, to promote the interests of a particular group or to reinforce a given national identity? Does historiography not express an ideology perspective? Surely there is truth to this claim. Undoubtedly the Rankean aim to recount the past 'wie es eigentlich gewesen' gives testimony to a good deal of naivety. However, the over-insistence on the biased character of historical writing risks in its turn omitting an important distinction: that between the ideal of impartial Judgment, however imperfectly realized, and historical writing which willingly subordinates judgment to the imperatives of a national or group interest. This distinction concerns not a simple difference in degree, but in the definition of truth itself.

As a conservative member of the Prussian ruling elite, Leopold von Ranke hardly limited his work to the sphere of national history riography in the narrow sense: if he wrote on Prussia and on the German nation, he also wrote detailed histories of France and of England. Adhering to the Lutheran faith, Ranke strived to avoid anv form of dogmatic religious judgment in his history of the Popes as in his account of the Protestant Reformation. Thus, for example, Ranke's masterwork Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation, does not represent an apology for the Protestant Reformation, nor does he seeks to discredit the Catholic religion by denying the universal meaning inherent in it. On the contrary, rather than argue for or against the dogmatic truth of Catholicism. his purpose is to portray the overarching historical meaning of a religious tendency in its ability to reconcile the universal principle it spouses with the parücularity of its worldly interests. Where it is a question of the objectivity in his analysis, Ranke's method is particularly cautious: without advocating a given cause, he attempts to present the course of events in a way which reveals the struggle between universal principles incarnated in the politics of the different Catholic and Protestant nations. As far as possible, Ranke addresses himself to readers of all confessions in his judgments concerning religious questions, for examination-ple in the following passage:

Whatever faith one might adhere to today, no one can deny——as the most earnest Catholic contemporaries such as Emser recognized—that the Latin Church was in need of reform. .

7 'Welcher Confession man also heute angehôren mag, kein Mensch cann leug-

Certainly Ranke was convinced of the legitimacy of the Lutheran Reformation and, in often subtle ways, this conviction influenced his reading of historical events. Indeed, his presupposition concerning the power of moral forces in history inspired the belief that the victim tory of Protestantism in northern Europe gave testimony to its supremacy moral and theological truth. But there is an important nuance between this conviction and the deliberate subordination of history cal representation to national interest.

Ranke's ideal of impartiality led him to reaffirm the ancient ideal of remembrance of the past sine tra et studio and to link this ideal to modern conceptions of scientific historical research based on documentary mental evidence. It is this ideal which stands at the basis of an important distinction in his theory between historiography and pol- itics which came to expression as early as in his 1836 essay, 'Über die Verwandtschaft und den Unterschied der Historie und der Politik'. If politics is always placed in the service of a particular nation and thus cannot lay claim to Unpartalichkeit, the ideal of impartiality is required of the historian who constantly searches out the universe meaning at the heart of singular national perspectives.

Undoubtedly, it is this conviction concerning the implicit inher- ence of universal in the singular which accounts not only for Ranke's general outlook on world history as, more specifically, for his the- ory of universality and impartial judgment, but also for his conservation vative political conception of the German national identity. In the political sphere, his conservatism led him to affirm the traditions and institutions bequeathed by the past. While he underlined the import- tance of German unity in the area of military defense during the decades following the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Ranke strongly opposed projects of national unification proposed by hiberal nation- alists. In his book Dre Grofen Mächte, Ranke stated that the politics system adopted following the Restoration offered the best possibility of maintaining 'local and provincial differences' while avoiding the kind of exaggerated centralism that Ranke associated with French political institutions.

nen und die katholisch—eifrigsten Zeitgenossen (SB Emser haben es bekannt) daf die lateinische Kirche einer Reform bedurfte'. Leopold von Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im £eitalter der Reformation, X, p. 100.

8 Hans Hoffmann, ed., Leopold von Ranke: Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Masterschnifien, p. 67.

Following the death of his friend and protector, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Ranke was at first skeptical concerning the rule of Otto von Bismarck, the chancellor of Friedrich's successor, Wilhelm I, who in 1871 became the Emperor of the German nation. Like many of his fellow conservatives, Ranke rallied to the support of the new German nation as well as to Bismarck's politics. Toward the end of his life, Ranke was able to convince himself of Bismarck's own conservative principles which he formulated in the following terms:

The power of what remains from the past is greater than that of recent constructions and the Chancellor returns once again to older conditions of a world that has been bequeathed to us ...°

If, as I am arguing, the implications of Ranke's historiographical ideal reach far beyond the limits of his 19th century conservative world-view, there can be no doubt that his reverence for the particular and for historical plurality of national identities stemmed from a religious persuasion concerning their providential sanction. Tea importance of the theological underpinnings of Ranke's vision of history has been stressed above all by Friedrich Meinecke in his classic work Due Idea of the Staatsräson in the new Geschichte. Xn the chapter devoted to Ranke in this work, Meinecke cites a passage from Ranke's Deutsche Geschichte im Zatalter der Reformation, which poignantly expresses the conviction which inspired Ranke's historical work throughout his life and will serve to illustrate the shift in historiographical concept tion brought about by Heinrich von Treitschke. In this passage taken from his history of the Reformation, Ranke wrote:

Religious truth must maintain for the State a continuous reminiscence of the origin and the purpose of earthly life; of the rights of one's neighbors and the relatedness of all Nations. Otherwise it would never be in danger of degenerating into a rule of violence and of hardening into narrow hatred of the foreigner.!°

” 'Die Kraft des Erhaltenden grôsser sei als die des Neubaus und dass der Kanzler Wieder zurückkehrt zu den alten Zuständen einer überkommenen Welt. Quoted in Wolfgang Mommsen, Stein, Ranke, Bismarck, Munich, 1954, p. 115.

'Die religiôse Wahrheit muss ... den Staat in fortwährender Erinnerung an den Ursprung und das Ziel des irdischen Lebens an das Recht seiner Nachbarn and the Verwanditschaft go Nationen erhalten. Er würde sonst in Gefahr sein in Gewaltherrschaft auszuarten, in einseitigem Fremdenhass zu erstarren', Friedrich Meinecke, Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte, Werke, X, 4.

Born in Dresden in 1834, Heinrich von Treitschke was nearly 40 years younger than Ranke. Where Ranke sought to reformulate in the terms of historical science the universalistic perspective bequeathed by theological and political traditions of a pre-revolutionary past, Treitschke's political writings and his concept of historiography espoused to new form of nationalism in late 19th century Germany. Trertschke's more narrow nationalistic conception of the State opened the way to what Hannah Arendt characterized in the Origins of Totahtanism with the apt term 'tribal nationalism', a development which according to her analysis, constituted at turning-point in German social and political history.!!

Heinrich von Treitschke studied history and economics at the Universities of Bonn, Leipzig, Tübingen and Freiburg im Breisgau. Beginning in 1858 he became chief editor of the prestigious review Preussische Jahrbücher, which was an influential mouthpiece for liberal political and economic principles as a means of achieving Germany's unification, conceived in terms of a new Grofdeutschland—a German nation which included Austria, under Prussian leadership.

In 1864, the year of a brief war waged between Prussia and Denmark, the first in a series of wars leading to German Unification that would be achieved in 1871, Treitschke published an influential article entitled 'Bundesstaat und Einheitsstaat", in which he expressed personal skepticism concerning the possibility of including Austria in a new German Reach. In this essay, as in another essay published in the same year, entitled 'Die Freiheit —relating not only in its theme, but from its very title to John Stuart Mills classic statement of lib- cralism in On Liberty —Treitschke presented his own personal version of German liberalism. In these writings Treitschke broke not only with the universalist perspective of Rankian conservatism, but also with the universal ideal which characterized earlier expressions of liberalism propounded by Mill and by the early 19th century German philosopher, Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose ideas concerning the relationship between the State and the individual human personality im his work Ideen zu einem Versuch, die Gränzen der Wirksamkeit des Staates

1 Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totaltarianism, Part Two, Imperialism, Harvest/ Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, San Diego, New York, London, 1968, pp. 107-123.

zu Bestimmen, had exercised a decisive influence on Mill. One of the central tenets of classic political liberalism, as formulated by Wilhelm von Humboldt and reelaborated by John Stuart Mill, concerned with dangers of State power for the development of the individual per- sonality. On the contrary, Treitschke argued that individual hberty

depends on a powerful State. Following German unification in 1871, Treitschke's writings emphasized the importance of reinforcing the political and military power of Germany, and only rarely dealt with the need for liberal reform of political institutions. Beside the reader tures on politics presented at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, Treitschke is best known for his multivolume work Deutsche Geschchte im 19. Jahrhundert, published during the 1870s and 1880s.

Beside his public role as first historiographer of the new Reich, Treitschke also had important political responsibilities as an elected deputy to the German Reichstag on the platform of the National Liberal party. Close to the political orientation of Otto von Bismarck, Treitschke was the only National Liberal deputy to vote in favor of Bismarck's Sozialhstengesetze of 1878, which placed a ban on all extra-parliamentary activities of the German socialist party. By 1879 it had become obvious that Treitschke's politics shared little in com-mon with the program espoused by the National Liberal party and he soon left the party over a question concerning economic protection tion policies. At this time he joined new kind of conservative party, characterized by its militarism and its hyper-nationalism.

This change in political party, however, marked less than modification in his general orientation than a clarification of his idcological position tion. In two decisive ways, Treitschke's theory of history both before and after his break with the National Liberal party, manifest a decision sive shift in orientation in relation to the historiography of Rankc:

1. As illustrated in our brief analysis of Ranke's thought, Ranke's theory of history presupposes the unity of world history as a process in which the particularism of national identities each bring to express sion, more or less completely in the different moments of their existence tence, to universal principle ultimately emanating from a sacred source. Treitschkc's historiography, on the other hand, was barely concerned with umversal meaning embodied in a plurality of national groups. The central role that Ranke accorded to the opaque transcendent source Of historical coherence became of entirely peripheral significance for Treitschke. While asserting his faith im Christianity, Treitschke

tended to instrumentalize Christian faith as a function of national politics. Christianity was relegated to a quasi-psychological quality of the German nation. As he wrote in his lectures on politics, pub-lished under the title Politik, since the conscience of the nation depends upon a community of religious sentiment (Ggühl), religion is a pre-condition for national unity.!?

2. As Treitschke shifted the eflorts of historiography away from the

reconstruction of the past in the plurality of its articulations, ciphers of an overarching world historical coherence, its representation of the German nation aimed less to elucidate the German identity in its' historical interaction with other great principles of national existence tence, than to argue for its legitimacy and, above all, to reinforce its power. Às he emphasized with passion in his essay 'Bundesstaat und Einheitsstaat', the essence of the State is 'Power, power, and again power ('Macht, Macht und nochmals Macht)."” If power con- received in these terms was necessary for the fulfillment of what he termed the 'moral' vocation of the nation, the moral quality to which he referred concerned more to spontaneous natural attribute of the national character than universal, divinely sanctioned truth. Hence, if unification was prerequisite to the fulfillment of a nation's morale vocation, this vocation related more to a particular trait than to universalcommand; and from this premise it was a logical step to the conclusion that the 'moral conscience' (sithches Bawusstsein) of nation required that it exclude all foreign minorities from participation tion.!∗ In the case of Germany, such exclusion was all the more necessary essary, not only of the Jews, whom we will take into consideration shortly, but also of the Slavic peoples, given what he took to be their almost complete absence of culture and upbringing (Gesittung). The Slavic peoples are, according to Treitschke, a 'people of slaves', who have no right to constitute a nation.”

2 Heinrich von Treitschke, Politik, vol. I, p. 326. The quasi-psychological nature of Treitschke's notion of religious sentiment is illustrated, for example, by his pre- supposition that women, whose feelings are more pronounced than those of men have always been more pious than men; cf. shid., I, 320.

5 Heinrich von Treitschke, 'Bundesstaat und Einheïtsstaat', in Historische und Politische Aufsätze, vol. 2, 7th edition, Leipzig, Hirzel, 1903, p. 152.

4 Heinrich von Treitschke, 'Die Freiheit' in Histonische und Politische Aufsätze, vol. 3, 7th edition, Leipzig, Hirzel, 1903, p. 8.

15 Heinrich von Treitschke, Aufsätze, Reden, Brafe, XX, p. 60.

The radical shift that Treitschke brought about in regard to Ranke's theory of history may be clearly set in relief if we consider its explicit critique of the ideal of impartiality which stood at the heart of Ranke's historiographical theory. For Treitschke Ranke's distinction between historiography and politics was unacceptable, for him firmly rejected any distinction between national political interests and the universal perspective of the historian, who seeks an Archimedean point beyond the purview of his own particular national interest.

Arguing im this vein, Treitschke's Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert

placed this Rankean ideal of historiography in question for its representment of the nation in a way which risked muting the 'voice of conscience' and effacing the heroism, the sentiment and the 'darker instincts of the Volk'.' It is precisely the 'voice of consciousness' as Treitschke interpreted it, which called for the abandonment of anything traditional ideal of impartiality or of historical representation sine 1ra and studio. Such illusory pursuits were to be abandoned and historiography subordinated to the interests of national Afachtpohtik. As Treitschke wrote in Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Fahrhundert.

What a misuse one makes today of the expression: sine ira et studio! HAS term that no one followed less faithfully than the one who coined it. Justly must the historian speak with courage, without sensitivity toward feelings of the court, without terror more often inspired today through the far more powerful hatred ousted by the educated mob. As true as it 1s that man understands only what he loves, so is it just as certain that only a strong heart, which feels the fate of the Fatherland to be its own misfortune or happiness, can confer upon historical narrative its inner truth."

Treitschke, of course, was not alone in bringing into question the ideal of impartiality which had so deeply inspired previous 19th century German historiography. Searching critique of the ideal which Rankc had done so much to promote had been proposed a decade earher in the second Untimely Meditation of Treitschke''s great contemporary and Saxon Landsmann, Friedrich Nietzsche. However,

© Heinrich von Treitschke, Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Fahrhundert, vol. HL, p. 698.

7 “Welchen Missbrauch treibt man doch heute mit dem Ausspruch: 'sine ira et studio'—einem Worte das Niemand weniger befolgt hat als sein Urheber. Gerecht Soll der Historiker reden freimütig, unbekümmert um die Empfindlichkeit der Hôfe, Ungeschreckt durch den heute viel mächtigeren Hass des gebildeten Pôbels. Aber so gewiss der Mensch nur versteht was er liebt, ebenso gewiss kann nur ein starkes Herz, das Geschick des Vaterlandes wie selbst erlebtes Leid und Glück empfindet, der historischen Erzählung die innere Wahrheït geben'. Zhid., vol. V, p.v.

Nietzsche did not content himself with a critique of Ranke's historiographical ideal, but took to task the modern insistence on the role of historical scholarship per se. According to Nietzsche's celebrated essay, the overweaning modern preoccupation with history could by no means provide a source for values necessary for surmounting the dead weight of a defunct tradition. In this light Treitschke's history ography was singled out for explicit critique. For Nietzsche, Treitschke's saber-rattling nationalism, in its inability to posit any spiritual ideal

beyond mere power politics, was the ominous symptom of that collapse of supreme values which, in other contexts, Nietzsche qualified as European nihilism. One of the main signs of this collapse lay for Nietzsche in his chauvinism—in his quest for self-affirmation primarily through negation of the foreigner. Above all, Nietzsche writes icized the instrumental role that Treitschke played in the kindling of the anti-Semitic movement in Bismarckian Germany.'*

It was, indeed, in 1879, following a vacation trip to Italy, that Treitschke published an article which would have particularly fateful consequences for posterity. Entitled 'Unsere Aussichten', this article was directed against what Treitschke took to be the pernicious influence of Jews in German society. In this article Treitschke deplores the recent arrival in Germany of successive waves of Osuden: hordes, according to Treitschke, of 'Jewish pants salesmen' ('Hosen verkaufende Juden"), whose sons and grandparents were destined to become masters of the German press. This process was all the most deplorable, according to Treitschke, since the Jews were a race in decline: unable to affirm a national identity and create a State since the Middle Ages, the Jews were historically dependent upon others, stronger nations for their cultural vitality. Thus, living at the expense of the Germans, the Jews could only prove a source of corruption in Germany. At the end of this article Treitschke coined the fateful slogan 'The Jews are our misfortune' ('Die Juden sind unser Unglück'), which would subsequently be taken up in the works of contemporary anti-Semites like Paul de Lagarde and echoed by two generations of anti-Semitic agitators in Germany, only to become prominent on the banners of the Nazi party.!"°

18 Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Der Fall Wagner', Ecce Homo, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. Colli and Montinari, VI, 2, de Gruyter, Berlin, 1968, p. 201; Jensets von Gut und Bôse, $251, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. Colli and Montinari, p. 200.

9 See, for example, the cover photo chosen for the book of Daniel J. Goldhagen, Hitler's Willing Executioners, Vintage, New York, 1997.

More than a decade before the Dreyfus Affair in France, this article fueled a passionate controversy in Germany known as the Berlimer Antisemitismusstreit. In the course of this conflict, a number of noted German academics publishedly protested against Treitschke's accusations and the historian of Roman antiquity, Theodore von Mommsen, attacked Treitschke's assertions in a series of letters published in the same review in which Treitschke's article had initially appeared.

1879 also was a year marked by antisemitic agitation among Berliners of the more modest classes, led by the Protestant pastor Stocker, who at this time founded a political movement welded

together by hatred of the Jews. Treitschke, of course, sought to dhis-
tinguish his ideas from the diatribes of this movement, composed
mainly of petty bourgeois and of artisans. In this light, Hannah Arendt
made an important observation in her work The few as Pariah when
she qualified Treitschke's attitude as a watershed in the history of
european antsemutusm. In distinguishing his scholarly discourse from
the agitation of the petit bourgeois, Treitschke, as Arendt noted, made
anti-Semitism fit for good society."

Although well over eighty years old, Leopold von Ranke was still
alive during this controversy. For him, the Jewish question was essential
tially to religious matter. In an entry in his diary dating from 1881,
Ranke noted without commentary the existence of a heated debate
centered on the Jews. He proceeded to describe the improvement
in the situation of the Jews since the proclamation of equal civic
rights (an equality which was not complete) following the foundation
of the German empire. This new equality had permitted Jews to
penetrate into areas which had previously been closed to them.
Qualifving the Antisemntismustrat as at battle of gladiators." no argument
appeared in this account either in favor of or against the parties
that participated in this controversy. At a decisive point, however,
Rankce interrupted his commentary to dwell upon the following
reminiscence:

How could I forget the distinguished Jews whom I have known? I
mention Mendelssohn-Bartholdy who seemed to me to be the best of
all, or also the Jewish participants in my lecture courses. Al of them
who joined me I finally consider to be historical Christians since they

*Hannah Arendt, The Jew as Pariah. Jewish Identity and Politics in the Modern Age,
ed. Ron H. Feldman. New York: Grove Press, 1978, p. 115-116.
*! Leopold von Ranke, Tagebücher, Histonische Zaitschnift, 151, 1934, pp. 332-35.

must have imbibed the medieval and modern ideas founded on
Christianity.??

In spite of his insistence on a plurality of national perspectives,
Ranke's affectionate remembrance of his Jewish students and fol-
lowers is qualified by his characterization of them as 'historical
Christians'. nevertheless, the moderation in his attitude toward the
Jews seems to stem from more than a simply personal predilection.
It corresponds, I would argue, to a more open and pluralistic view
of the historical process in which truth is not subordinated to con-
siderations of power and national cohesion, but inversely, national
viability originates in the capacity to embody truth which is of tran-

descendant origin.

In the last analysis, it is perhaps Heinrich Heine who, several decades earlier, had already seen the weakening of traditional Christian convictions as an ominous bear for the Germany of the future. I quote in conclusion to passage taken from Heine's Philosophie und

Religion in Germany:

Christianity—and that is its most beautiful service—has somewhat softened that brutal Germanic love of battle, but could not destroy it. Whenever the taming symbol, the Cross, crumbles, then the savageness of the old fighters will surge forth again. This is the berserk anger of which the northern poets sing and so often evoke. This symbol is weak and the day will come when it will collapse. Then the old hardened gods will raise themselves out of the rubble, will rub the thousand year old dust out of their eyes and Thor with his great hammer will spring up and destroy the Gothic cathedrals.?

2 'Aber wie kônnte ich treffiche Juden die mir bekannt geworden sind vergesen? Ich erwähne Mendelssohn-Bartholdy der mir als der beste von allen erschienen ist, oder also the Zuhôrer jüdischer Nation die meinen Vorlesungen gefolgt sind... Alle die welche sich mir anschlossen erklärte ich endlich für historische Christen we also see the ideas of the Middle Ages and the new times of the day beruhen, in sich aufgenommen haben müfiten'. Zhid.

3% 'Das Christentum—and das ist sein schônstes Verdienst—hat jene brutale ger-
However, the German air conditioning system may not be affected, but it may not be stored,
wenn einst der zähmende Talisman, das Kreuz, zerbricht, dann rasselt wieder empor die Wildheit der alten Kämpfer, die unsinnige Berserkerwut, wovon die nordischen Dichter soviel singen und sagen. Jener Talisman ist morsch, und kommen wird der Tag, wo er kläglich zusammenbricht; die alten steinernen Gôtter erheben sich dann aus dem verschollenen Schutt, und reiben sich den tausendjährigen Staub aus den Augen, und Thor mit dem Riesenhammer springt empor und zerschlägt die Gotischen Dome' Heinrich Heine, Philosophie und Religion in Deutschland, Werke, Düsseldorfer Ausgabe, vol. VIII, 1, Hamburg, Hoffmann and Campe, 1973 1997,
Punished:

BETWEEN REJECTION AND RESPECT—COMMUNITIES
FRENCH CATHOLICS OF PALESTINE,
THE JEWS AND ZIONISM—1880-1939*

Dominique Trimbur

To examine the attitude of Catholic religious communities towards
The treatment of Jews may seem repetitive. Indeed, the events of

The violence of the 20th century prompted religious people to reflect
about what their attitude towards this people has been and what it has been for a long tim
considered a deicide, whether through historical studies
ques' or on the occasion of fundamental texts? Similarly, his-
Torians have already produced in-depth analyses concerning the
A particular constellation: Catholic Church/Jews.® Among other things, com-
communities established in Palestine from the late 19th century onwards, the
The case of the Assumptionists is particularly noteworthy: because of the
numerous publications issued by this congregation,
as well as the substantial historiographical interest that has been shown towards it,
This example will serve as our main point of reference in the present
Article: Congregation placed at the center of the Dreyfus Affair, it does not escape
Indeed, not to that observation. Thus, a reflection/confession of
the pen of Father Michel Kubler, himself a member of this congregation-
tion, occupied the front page of the newspaper La Croix, at the time viru-
slow organ of anti-Dreyfusism, during the centenary of the acquittal

* This article is a revised version of a text published in 7Zsafon-Revue d'études
Jewish women of the North, No. 38, Winter 1999 Spring 2000.

This is particularly true of the contribution of the Benedictine Georges Passelecq to
The book "The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI - A Missed Opportunity for the Church in the Fa
tisme (in collaboration with Bernard Suchecky), La Découverte, Paris, 1995.

Let us naturally recall here the debates of the Second Vatican Council which led to
to the Nostra Aetate declaration, partly devoted to Judaism (1965), or the 'declaration-
'Ration of repentance' of the Catholic Church of France, September 1997.

3 For the French field, one thinks in particular of the remarkable study of
François Delpech on the Congregation of Our Lady of Sion, essentially dedicated
to the conversion of the Jews ('Our Lady of Sion and the Jews, Reflections on the Father
Theodore Ratisbonne and on the evolution of the Congregation of Our Lady of Sion
"From the Origins," in On the Jews: Studies in Contemporary History, Presses Universitaire
(from Lyon, Lyon, 1983, p. 321 sq.), or to the work of Pierre Pierrard Jwfs et catho-
French liques, From Édouard Drumont to Jacob Kaplan 1886-1994, Ed. du Cerf, Paris, 1997.

d'Esterhazy, Zola's 'J'accuse!' and his trial,* triggered-
a chorus of enthusiastic pronouncements on this eloquent mea culpa;
while the congregation's attitude at the time of the affair, this
the quintessential 'anti-Semitic moment' has already been highlighted in
the early and courageous work of Pierre Sorlin.

Nevertheless, despite these studies, a gap remains. These analyses
do indeed tend to present an abstract view of Jews. This
This remark is not so much addressed to the authors as it highlights one of the
aspects that they themselves highlight: when at the time the
Religious congregations are attacking the Jews; they are targeting...

almost chimeras, to people and a people of whom they do not know
not much, and which they are not really interested in anyway.
The most important thing for religious people, then, is to see themselves justified by
the clichés and prejudices that still largely dominate in their minds:
reflecting French society at that time. These clichés perpetuate themselves.
Moreover, they are blind to any attempt at explanation.
reasonable cation that potential opponents may bring to them.

In the case of some communities, however, a chance for them
is offered the opportunity to discover what Jews truly are. For if one
except for French cities where religious orders are established
and where they want to see a 'Jewish invasion', they benefit for certain-
certain, from the 1870s-1880s onwards, settlements in a city
Jerusalem, which was then truly a Jewish-majority city. In what was then becoming
the intellectual center of the Jewish population, they have the opportunity to
confront their preconceived ideas with reality and demonstrate curiosity
site. Furthermore, to focus on it, the Assumption community
the Jerusalemist, established there from 1882, is, like the
French Assumptionist stronghold, a world unto itself: representative of
France, 'the real France'; representative of the growing appeal
Affirmation of French foreign policy regarding the Eastern Question:

∗ La Croix, January 11-12, 1998, 'Our elder brothers'.

See Birnbaum, Pierre, The Anti-Semitic Moment – A Tour of France in 1898, Fayard,
Paris, 1998.

® 'La Croix' and the Fuÿfs (1880-1899), Contribution to the history of contemporary anti-S
porain, Grasset, Paris, 1967.

7 According to Pierre Sorlin's formula, for them 'history is only repetition'
indefinite of an unchanging plot: eternally the Jew becomes the persecutor, Christ
He is crucified, the apostles suffer; the faithful of today are treated like those
of the first century, because the vocation of the Christian is martyrdom." (op. «it., p. 2

BETWEEN REJECTION AND RESPECT

representative of the major religious trends of the time (worship)
Marian, pilgrimages, missions).

An initial study had allowed us to describe in broad strokes
the Assumptionist universe of Jerusalem, in particular to define brie-
changing the perception of Judaism in Palestine by religious figures
established at Notre-Dame de France, the name of the immense inn that
The Assumptionists led from 1885 to 1970; she had also per-
It is worth noting that it is worthwhile not to limit oneself to the only
The Dreyfus affair warranted a thorough study of this concept, poorly-
despite the crucial nature of the crisis. Conversely, choosing the long term
It offers several advantages: firstly, that of avoiding repetitions

compared to existing studies; then that of better corresponding
to cope with the upheavals, even if only demographic ones, that
knows Palestine; finally, that of doing justice to the developments between-
registered by Catholic religious figures established in the Holy Land, who do not
They did not remain trapped in their initial anti-Semitism.

The presence of religious communities on the ground and their
confrontation with Judaism 27 situations also require extending the point
From this perspective, this constitutes the structure of our presentation. Installed in
In Palestine, religious people find a 'concrete' Judaism, to which they
try to apply the clichés they brought with them from France, with
There are nuances, as we shall see. But this Judaism is fluid:
Apart from the fact that it doesn't correspond to the fixed image they have of it,
It is affected considerably, and naturally, by a phenomenon
Zionism was barely touched upon in the studies cited.

In the face of these two aspects of Judaism, we will attempt to reproduce
schematically, the attitude of French Catholics established in
Palestine: when each of them is received negatively
or positive (or neutral), an image then emerges among religious people
complex of Palestinian Judaism (and Judaism in general). This-
This can only undermine certainties that were previously considered
as immutable; and bring to an end doubts which, under the blows
the historical turning point, quite faithfully reflect the questions of
the Church during this period prior to its doctrinal upheavals.

8 'A French presence in Palestine: Notre-Dame de France', in Bulletin du
French Research Center of Jerusalem, No. 3, Autumn 1998, pp. 33-58.

° This still reflects the lack of an in-depth analysis of Judaism
from the Assumptionists, for example. Herzl's ideology thus does not appear
than surreptitiously in the work of P. Sorlin (op. «t., p. 157).

or DOMINIQUE TRIMBUR

Religious Communities and Judaism

A treacherous and god-killing people

At first glance, the documents from religious communities issued to
Jerusalem says very little about the Jews. In accordance with what
has been noted by authors who have worked on the Assumptionists,
One of the characteristic features of the congregation at that time was its pro-
based on a lack of understanding of Judaism; a valid observation for
all communities, a weakness that largely underlies
to adopt a hostile attitude towards this religion. On the ground,
This ignorance is all the more serious given that Jews live in name-

bre, and that in Jerusalem itself they make up the majority of the population
lation. This situation prompted Father Charles Monsch, then archivist
of the congregation created by Father d'Alzon, to be written in his foreword-
Regarding the work of P. Sorlin:

Our pilgrims therefore passed and repassed (twenty-eight times for Father Bailly) °
alongside the first Jewish settlements in Galilee, without seeing them, and without
to recognize these heroic pioneers, Jewish land clearers and peasants, nega-
A living demonstration of all racist fabrications!

There is therefore a blatant dichotomy between 'parasitic' Jews and
'destroyers' whose presence is suspected everywhere, even in France,
and the active Jews and builders of Palestine who are totally
ignored (while the first aliyah is contemporaneous with the first
pilgrimages of the Assumptionists to the Holy Land).

This situation can be explained in several ways. First, I + to.
Once again, the religious community's ignorance of Jewish history. But
There is also, unconsciously, the realization of a view of
the spirit of their part: elements of a 'peaceful crusade', they want
to see in Palestine the realization of a land purified of its
parasites, including the Jews. Pushing the image to extremes, one can put
in parallel the situation at the end of the 19th century and the one that resulted

Organizer of numerous and important French Catholic pilgrimages to
Palestine, caravans entitled 'Pilgrimages of Penance' (see Catherine Nicault,
'Faith and Politics: French Pilgrimages to the Holy Land' (1850-1914, in Dominique
Trimbur/Ran Aaronsohn [eds.], From Bonaparte to Balfour - France, Western Europe
and Palestine, 1799-1917, 'Mélanges du CRFJ' collection, vol. 3, CNRS-Éditions,
Paris, 2001, pp. 295-324).

!! Sorlin, op. cit, p. 2.

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of the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099, when the Jews
from Jerusalem, among others, were massacred; a purification that it is a question of
to accomplish again, at the moment when the West is making its great
return to the Orient, from the mid-19th century onwards. Thus, at the head
pilgrimages, the Assumptionists lead the new armies
of Christ, they reproduce identically the gesta Dei per Francos and
advance by proclaiming 'God wills it': an imaginary and a voca-
omnipresent bularis who cannot be bothered by the Jews.

The French religious figures present in the Holy Land pray for salvation
of 'real France'. French unity, demanded very early on by the
Assumptionists!? and the grandeur of the Catholic Church associated with

those of France* find their fulfillment very quickly:
one of their publications, the Echoes of Notre-Dame de France, can by
for example, describing a Catholic and French Jerusalem as early as January 1896-
French, then, in 1899, a Holy Land that fell into the hands of the
France. * France, which is being realized in Palestine around the cross
of Christ, homogeneous and devoid of its extraneous elements, is a
a foreshadowing of the France that was to be realized in metropolitan France. The Jews
They don't belong there. This representation is, moreover, tacitly
approved by the Free consuls in Palestine, for example in
the speeches they deliver on the occasion of the pilgrims' passage
ges in Jerusalem. Moreover, there is a link between the prayers made at
The course of these trips and the political situation in France: that's how it happened.
that Father Bailly, editor-in-chief of Za Croix and head of the
pilgrimages, can see with satisfaction his hopes fulfilled when, at
Returning from Jerusalem in January 1898, he learned the news of the trou-
anti-Semitic blunders in Algiers."

However, this overall view does not correspond to reality.
which emerges when one reads further into the numerous related documents
ties to the Holy Land: Jews are still part of the landscape there.
Palestine and attract the attention of religious figures. Through this, they gain influenc
also the wrath of the Assumptionists who, in their fervor, did not
They are indistinguishable from their Parisian colleagues.

In this area, it seems that a certain predestination prevails

12 Echoes of Notre-Dame de France, no. 16, May-August 1892, p. 56.

13 As this appears, for example, at the Eucharistic Congress in Jerusalem,
in 1893 (Échos de Notre-Dame de France, n° 6, September 1893).

4 Echoes of Notre-Dame de France, No. 74, August-September-October 1899.

EsSoshneaprcitsep. 116.

to the establishment of Father d'Alzon's congregation in Jerusalem. Except
their function linked to French pilgrimages, which leads them to cons-
To build Notre-Dame de France, the Assumptionists own from-
A shot fired in 1887 at a site on Mount Sion. According to them, the discoveries
archaeological excavations they are carrying out on this plot overlooking the city of Davi
contemporary with those carried out there at the expense of Baron de Rothschild,
put them in possession of the place of Peter's denial." But this
which recalls one of the most painful episodes of the Passion of
Christ also means that they control the place where the palace was located
of Caiaphas, where Jesus was condemned by this high priest. Therefore,
their presence and the revelations about the state of their excavations'? constitute-
kill a constant reminder of the original sin of the Jews, the one that has

makes them the deicide people who deserve their punishment.

With this prerequisite established, the Assumptionists can launch their dia-
tribes against the 'cursed race'. These include, for example,
ple by the reminders, rare but powerful, of the dramatic situation that
their 'brothers in France' at the end of the 19th century. If the
thanks to Captain Dreyfus, who 'shrouded in darkness' a retreat to the Carmelite monastery
the persecutions directed against La Croix after the review of the trial,
proof of the 'Judeo-Masonic conspiracy',* or the 'dirty and putrid' action
Zola's works fall outside the specific scope of this study; they do not signify any of the
slow no less than the state of mind of the Assumptionists, in Paris or
Jerusalem is the same. Therefore, it is impossible for them to think
the world in a different way than in Manichean terms, where their struggle appears-
That of their enemies is just, and that of them is infamous.

The economic anti-Semitism of the Assumptionists, which Pierre Sorlin
"perceives in the analysis the hatred they harbor towards Jews." leaves some
brands in the spirit of the religious of Notre-Dame de France?!

read 22, 54202

17 For example, Echos de Notre-Dame de France, no. 2, October 1888; Souvenirs, no. 60,
December 31, 1889; and Letter to Dispersion, No. 231, July 1, 1927.

18 Souvenirs, no. 404, October 7, 1899, no. 409, November 11, 1899: archives of
Our Lady of France, Saint Peter in Gallicantu, Jerusalem (later arch-
(ves NDF), NDF ephemeris, 11: 1898-1901, entries for November 25 and 26
1899, January 19 and 23, 1900.

Supplement to Echos de Notre-Dame de France, No. 90.

2% Sorlin, ®. cit, ch. VIL, p. 71 sq.

*"For example, they receive circulars from the superior general of the congregation-
tion, Father Picard, including that of February 21, 1896, which denounces tax harassment
against the religious orders, a result of the 'fanaticism [...] of the Jews in France'
(NDF archives, 22: community reports, business cards, general curia).

The classic association 'Jew/big capital' is also valid in
Palestine; and in the same way that in France religious figures carry out
a distinction between Catholic money, which is clean, and Jewish money, which is dirty,
In the Holy Land, this distinction is essential. Financial payments
which they benefit from allow the Assumptionists to realize their
a peaceful, constructive, and healthy crusade; while Jewish money which
arriving in Palestine is, as everywhere else, a symbol of a thirst
of almost diabolical possession. The 'Jewish peril'? threatens the world by
general," Palestine in particular, and nothing can stop the millions

of francs enjoyed by the Jews there, thanks to the all-powerful 'sect'
health”*: they are only concerned with raising funds, profiting
sums received from a Parisian fund [...] as rich as
generous” and establish networks of influence:

A very serious monetary crisis has been gripping the country for the past 15 days.
The banks are refusing all payments, all cash advances. Impossible.
negotiating checks, cashing money orders. Jews, real birds
like prey, they take advantage of the situation: they have depreciated the French currency
French and Russian money which they buy back in order to carry out enormous
profits; the wretched buy 100-franc notes for 80 francs.
the Bank of France.?°

This lure of profit has its traditional cover, which one author describes
in a scholarly article devoted to 'sacred seekers', showing by
that's where money is at the foundation of the Jewish religion.” Finance has
also its more modern and perfected forms, and it seems clear that
If it's just a matter of money, the Jews will manage to establish themselves.
definitively and to create a 'business center' there. And in fact, 'In
Meanwhile, the Jews are multiplying their colonies, their hospices and hospitals
rates.” Their financial maneuvers continue and are increasing.
naturally when Palestine becomes an occupation zone then

2 Souvenirs, no. 392, June 24, 1899.

#% Jerusalem, No. 39, September 24, 1907.

% Echoes of Notre-Dame de France, no. 116, May 1903, p. 85.

3 Jhd., no. 120, September 1903, p. 163.

2% ASAJ, Box 3: Diary of the major seminary 1907-1914, notebook T, journal of
Ste Anne, 1907-1914, entry of August 19, 1914.

27 Jerusalem, No. 13, July 24, 1905, The Jews of Palestine: Sacred Seekers, G. Jeandel,

20liS0
: É Ibid n° 52, 24 October 1908, 'Zionism-Its origins -Its future', p. 223 sq.

2% ASAJ, box 2: Diary of the minor seminary 1900-1914, notebook E, June 21, 1907-Ter
February 1910, entry of September 23, 1908.

British mandate after December 1917: it then appears that it is
Above all, it's money that characterizes the Jews of this country. They are shrewd.
in monetary transactions and thereby secure their supremacy.

And the sanctity of the place can hardly deter them from their
land-based materialism.

From the perspective of the Assumptionists, as of other communities
In light of this, the Jews are all the more condemnable for the latter
The religious figures are indeed ardent defenders of a City
saint who retains her original features. They who live surrounded by
edifying frescoes depicting the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, they
they are keen to live in a city they want to be ideal: ideal, that is to say
Catholic and French, but also a city that is not affected
through modernization; hence their condemnation of everything that...
would revolutionize the mental and physical landscape of 'Holy Iron'.
Therefore, the Assumptionists of Jerusalem accuse the Jews of being
the champions of urban upheaval, their materialism being
intimately linked to the modernization that marks the history of Palestine
of that era.∗! This is also interpreted as a means of
to take possession of the territory and to dedicate 17 fine decadence.

The anti-Semitism of French Catholics in Palestine is not only-
Economically, 1 liter is also religious. For once, the different
congregations have the opportunity to confront their prejudices with the
reality of Jewish life. However, it appears that they do not benefit
They truly took advantage of this opportunity to revise their ideas. As we
As we have indicated, the religious figures carry their religious items with them and
feel they have a mission: to contribute to the restoration
tion of a 'Holy Land which will shine for the salvation of France.
One of the images conveyed is the classic one of the deicide people,
with its corollary, Judaism definitively marked by sin
original: the Jews of Palestine resolutely embody the condemnation-
tion which results from their descriptions illustrate the worst clichés of
the anti-Semitic literature of the time. At the risk, moreover, of entering into
contradiction with the prejudices mentioned previously: because then
that Jews are systematically associated with money, the population
Jewish Palestine appears decidedly poor. And indeed,

∗ Jerusalem, No. 137, May-June 1927, The Zionist Movement", p. 75 sq.
%! For example, the arrival of electricity prompts them to indicate that Jerusalem 'ne
will soon no longer be Jerusalem, but a modern city like any other' (Letter to the

dispersion, no. 64, January 27, 1910, p. 255).

BETWEEN REJECTION AND RESPECT

The Jew's wretched, stooped, ragged appearance results from the weight of
this mistake. The image of the Wandering Jew is certainly only used once
times during the period in Assumptionist literature, at
early 20th century," but the 'curse [they called] on
their heads" and the regular reminder of 'the deicide∗ have a long life."

This curse manifests itself in a constant fear that seems
characterize the Jews and make them a detestable people." She
also manifested by their religious customs: their damnation
makes one superstitious, when superstition does not appear as synonymous with
name of their religion;* but above all it generates prayers that do not
They may resemble nothing more than lamentations, an eloquent demonstration.
of the cursed mark that has afflicted them since Good Friday.

As such, the Jewish population is left to the curiosity of religious figures.
as to that of the pilgrims they are leading: the passage to the wall
The Lamentations on Friday evening, at the beginning of Shabbat, is obligatory.
it is a symbol of a rather unhealthy attention paid to Judaism.
The resulting image only serves to confirm the cliché that
we have in mind." And when the written description is not enough, "the

2 Echoes of Notre-Dame de France, no. 120, September 1903, p. 151.

3% Jerusalem, No. 37, July 24, 1907, p. 489.

% Jhid., no. 19, January 24, 1906 and no. 21, March 24, 1906.

5% This is how, in 1934, the description of the new church of Saint Peter in
Gallicante again gives rise to an anti-Jewish barb (Letter to the Dispersion, no. 554,
December 10, 1934, p. 388).

% Jerusalem, no. 147, January-February 24, 1929, p. 404.

For example, let's consider the description of Tiberias: 'The city [...] is only a
A perilous ghetto. Entirely Jewish, the population seems to have adopted all the flaws.
of the race. In the narrow, winding, filthy, pestilent streets, the traveler
Anyone passing by, even at a trot on their horse, risks being overrun by vermin, more
swift, searching for some new prey. [...] Through this hideous labyrinth,
On ragged bodies, you glimpse sinister heads with parchment-like faces,
with pale skin and hateful eyes; these beings seem like the primitive types of
bric-a-brac dealers and purveyors of conscience from all over the world. Despite
the warmth and the memory of our fathers' crusaders, you go there with your little fris-
sound, when, in these labyrinths full of dark dungeons, you see sour-
A whole collection of these eyes, shining like blades, were staring at you.
daggers, oblique and twisted like the speeches of usurers." (Echoes of Notre-Dame de
France, no. 74, August-September-October 1899, p. 138).

% hit, n125mfebO04 pp 23-26;

#9 'We saw them swaying their thin, sickly bodies with alternating
wearying, uttering long groans, shedding tears, for they have a reli-
"a readily tearful gion." (Jerusalem, no. 37, July 24, 1907, p. 484, or no. 69, 24
marssl910, p. 7/sqi).

While a series of 'scientific' articles attempt to describe the Jews of Jerusalem
(Echoes, no. 120, September 1903, no. 121, October 1903, no. 122, November 1903,
No. 123, December 1903, No. 124, January 1904, No. 125, February 1904, No. 126, March 1904

Assumptionists deliver 'portraits of Jews' intended to convince
of the horror they inspire."

On site, the religious leaders crowned their anti-Semitism with the conversion
the union they want to bring to the Jews. For it seems that these,
In their despicable and bleak situation, they are only waiting for the
light of the Messiah. Certainly, it must not be a question of conversions of
circumstances, such as those that can then be observed in Europe, which do not
According to the Assumptionists, they only serve to better undermine Christian society.
yours." It is rather a true redemption that allows
to the Jews to receive revelation.*

This topic presents several aspects in the Assumption literature.
ist. It is first and foremost a tribute to Our Lady of Sion, the congress-
gation established in Jerusalem since 1874 and whose mission to
of the Israelites, therefore their conversion, is the stated goal. This work
is the subject of occasional praise, for example on the occasion of pilgrimages
nages," or more in-depth descriptions intended for the readers
metropolitan authors.

The theme of conversion is not a phenomenon only linked
at an early stage of the Catholic congregational presence in
Jerusalem. It is also valid for more recent times. It is
as well as the 1920s, which were marked either by the maintenance of
the work of conversion in Palestine;" either through incidents in Jerusalem
which highlight the ambiguous attitude of the Catholic Church in this
domain; either through support for a universal conversion project

Jerusalem, No. 27, September 24, 1906, 'A Palestinian painter – James Tissot',
p. 211 sq., and no. 28, October 24, 1906.

Jbäd., no. 96, June 24, 1912, 'The twilight of Judaism in Germany and in the world',
(on JISR) Hop

Archives of Saint Anne of Jerusalem (establishment of the White Fathers, by the
continued: ASAT), Box 1: Quarterly Bulletin 1878-1914, entry of September 5, 1891:
lhtanies for the conversion of the Jews.

See Delpech, op. cit., and René Laurentin, Alphonse Ratishonne: vie authentique,
t. 1 Youth: at the dawn of modern Judaism, 1814-1842, Paris, ŒIL, 1986,
2 volumes, and t. IT January 20, 1842: Marie appears to Alphonse Ratisbonne, EYE, Paris,
1991, 2 volumes.

% Echos de Notre-Dame de France, n° 74, August-September-October 1899, p. 167.

Jbid., no. 126, March 1904, pp. 40-42, but especially Jerusalem, no. 37, July 24

1907, 'Religious establishments in the Holy Land—Father Marie Ratisbonne and the 'Mission of Our Lady of Sion in Palestine', P. Givelet, p. 488 sq., and continuation in 1bid., no. 38, August 24, 1907, p. 519 sq.

#7 Jerusalem, no. 127, September–October 24, 1925, p. 413, with the appointment of a new superior at Notre Dame de Sion.

NDF Archives, 14: ephemerides 1923–1937, entry of November 8, 1924.

BETWEEN REJECTION AND RESPECT DS

saddle, the Amict Israel, created at the initiative of the Vatican;' or finally by action on the ground, when calls to prayer are multiplied for the Jews. This is how the Assumptionists point out and support They hold this last 'work which is certainly willed by God', a 'difficult undertaking, more timely than ever'; a work, led by Father Devaux, superior of Notre-Dame de Sion, who structure and takes the name Archconfraternity of Prayers for Conversion "of Israel" a very Roman term which receives the Pope's assent.

The continuation of this support for the 'return of Israel', for the restoration of the Alliance, allows for an overall assessment of the evolution of the congregation founded by Father d'Alzon. In fact, even in France itself The Assumptionists are experiencing a relative revolution at this time. tion, with the Vatican-imposed appointment of Father Merklen to the management of La Croix in 1927, a direct consequence of the conviction of the French Achon by the Holy See; a religious who brings there a a more liberal approach and completes the eviction, at the beginning of the century, of more radical among the Assumptionist journalists.®? In revan- Che, it seems that at the same time in Palestine his colleagues remain imbued with a certain conservatism, they persist in seeing in the The Jewish people are an evil element that must absolutely be encouraged. the conversion."

A people who deserve the benevolent attention of the congregations.

The image that the French Catholic communities of Palestine have The Jewish experience, however, is more complex and contradictory than this as we have just seen. Indeed, rejection does not preclude an interest for the Jewish people, whom one could almost describe as benevolent.

Who, however, quickly retracted and banned the work in reaction to its anti-Semitic outbursts (Jerusalem, no. 135, January–February 24, 1927, p. 23, no. 143, May 24–June 1928, p. 274, and No. 144, July 24–August 1928, p. 302).

50 Jhid., no. 127, September–October 1925, p. 413.

DT 24 ina 1010, pb. 114 n%129 2€ to 16260275,
No. 182, July–August 1926, p. 3571; No. 185, May–June 1935, p. 85 sq.

% Alain Fleury, 'La Croix' and Germany 1930–1940, Éd. du Cerf, Paris, 1986,
I. History of 'La Croix', p. 18 sq.; see also Jacques Prévotat, Les catholiques et
l'Action française–– Histoire 'd'une condamné (1899–1939), Fayard, Paris, 2001, pp.
509850.

53 Jerusalem, no. 142, March–April 24, 1928, 'A Conference on the Return of Israel',
Regarding a conference in Brussels by Robert Vallery–Radot, p. 247 ff., continued
in 1bid., n° 144, 24 July–August 1928, p. 303 sq.

In the first instance, Jews are considered poor wretches:

This whole world bears the mark of suffering and affliction which
do not leave a Christian heart unmoved. These unfortunate people do not deserve–
Do they not yet offer the alms of pity and prayer?”

This compassion is all the more required when the Jews are
battered by events: for example, Ottoman subjects, they are
recruited, just like the other populations of Palestine, to
beginning of the First World War; while their coreligion–
People of other nationalities share the fate of French religious figures and
were expelled from the Holy Land at the end of 1914.

Beyond this pity” or a certain irony, not necessarily malicious
against them (when some Jews seem happy to receive
the blessing of the papal legate during his visit to Jerusalem at the congress
(Eucharistic tradition of 1893), Jews inspire goodwill in hearts
Christians and French.” Moreover, there is a kind of admiration for
the 'uncorrupted' Jews that they are: the religious see in them the
representatives of an original faith, that of the Patriarchs, of a reli–
gion not degraded by assimilation as it is perceptible in
their coreligionist from France; people who, despite everything,
can only be understood within the biblical tradition and thus give rise to
almost respect.

Furthermore, the Jews are an established fact: they are an obvious
density in the Holy City of Jerusalem, where they reach '3/5ths
of the total population? And whose 'ghettos' are becoming increasingly
more scope;°" they are thus part of it, even if only occasionally–
sion, from the Jerusalem chronicle that the Assumptionists re–
gentle over the years. They constitute a silent majority who suffer
their fate without warning.® French religious figures meet them at
Jerusalem itself, during their community walks or in

Jbid., n° 37, July 24, 1907, p. 487.
% Letter to the Dispersion, No. 59, December 2, 1914.
3% Jhid., no. 100, February 3, 1915.
if Jerusalem, no. 147, 24 Rover 1929, p. 404.
5 “Echoes of Notre-Dame de France, no. 6, September 1893, p. 189.
This is how they can benefit from the generosity of the French doctors and nuns.
çais at the Saint Louis Hospital in Jerusalem (tbid., no. 49, January 1897, p. 25).
0 Jbid., n° 1, July 1888, p. 15.
At NDF Archives, 12: ephemerides 1901-1905, entry of February 12, 1903.
Echoes of Notre-Dame de France, no. 89, January 15, 1901, p. 5, at the time of a
cholera epidemic.

company of pilgrims: the Assumptionists attend, for example
to Jewish celebrations which they reproduce, without comment, in
their magazines.® They find them in the Palestinian province, notably-
in major urban centers, Tiberias or Hebron.

The Jews, in this case the members of old Yichow, immersed
in their Talmudic studies, even if they sometimes suffer the ava-
My fellow Ottoman soldiers did not meddle in politics. That's
why they reject the nascent Zionist ideology 'whose tendencies-
These secular and strongly nationalist individuals would have quickly destroyed the presti
of the ancient synagogue”: as indicated to the Assumptionists a
A Jewish eyewitness said, 'In Zion, there are no Zionists!' This attitude,
This trend, which is expected to last, is observed and appreciated by the Assumptionists.
at regular intervals.” Attachment to tradition and rejection of
politicized Judaism and modernity, recognized among the Jews of
Palestine (we're not exactly strangers to contradictions), their confederation
They possess a certain nobility. When the Assumptionists observe
that they no longer want to be called Jews but Israelites or Hebrews,
For them, it is the possibility of finally finding themselves again in the divine people.
cide, a search for origins, for lost grandeur. But it is
precisely the loss of this former majesty which arouses repro-
The rise of anti-Semites in France. The possibility of a revival, a return
grace therefore sparks their interest, without losing sight of the
fruits that the Catholic Church could reap: a Jewish resurgence is always-
days considered as a possibility of bringing this 'damned' people
to the conversion. Therefore, one considers taking advantage of what, at the beginning of
The 20th century is considered a major crisis for Judaism.
'an extremely serious event', a fact which the Church must fully grasp.
the scope.® Taking this dramatic development into account involves
also, later, through the rejection of anything that might offend the Jews:
In this logic, antisemitism is rejected because it is no longer the
good answer to the problems of time...°

63 Jerusalem, no. 73, July 24, 1910, p. 185, at the time of the appointment of a

new chief rabbi.

+ NDF Archives, 11: ephemerides 1898-1901, entry of April 10, 1899.

65 Echoes of Notre-Dame de France, no. 120, September 1903, p. 147.

wo Jhid., p. 146.

67 Letter to the Dispersion, No. 99, July 19, 1924: 'Orthodox Jews are more
in addition to being opposed to these intruders, the Zionists (p. 186).

66 Echoes of Notre-Dame de France, no. 124, January 1904, pp. 1-8.

& Jerusalem, No. 40, October 24, 1907, p. 566 sq.

70 Jhid., no. 146, November-December 1928, 'What to think of Zionism?', reprint of a

Furthermore, the Jews of Jerusalem can be perceived as favorable-
because some of them are perfectly... frequently
tables, contrary to what, for example, the Assumptionists
declare in France. That's why they don't get irritated by the proposal-
a Jerusalem travel agency's position to see them welcomed at
Notre-Dame de France attracts Jewish tourists; and they even accept it.
to receive the Jewish members of a study trip of the Revue géné-
rale of science. Similarly, they regard with benevolence a character-
vane of Central European Jews whose 'European attire' even
to relax the usual instruction to prohibit their access to the Holy-
Sepulcher."*

This attitude is reflected in the fact that the Assumptionists of
Jerusalem collaborates at certain times with the Israelite Alliance
Universal of the city. While the AIU is in the eyes of Za Croix the
center of the world Jewish conspiracy, /* its benevolent action is
recognized in Holy Glass because it is associated there with the effort of
dissemination of French culture. This occasional cooperation at
against Germany in particular, which, for its part, uses the
of the Hilfesveren der deutschen Fuden." She is distinguished by her passage to Notre-
Lady of AIU mechanics students;/$ but especially by a descrip-
flattering presentation of the organization that acts for the good of France at
even beyond the congregations established in the East." That is indeed the case.
in the eyes of religious people, schools 'where teaching-despite the character-
tère unwersel of the institution-is given in French and [...] in a
excellent spirit' .® But this cooperation has its limits, when the

Article by Fr. Bonsirven, SJ, published in Études, p. 328 ff. (Fr. Bonsirven is perceived
by P. Pierrard as a pioneer of Judeo-Christian friendship-Jews and Catholics,
op. cit, p. 266 sq).

7! NDF Archives, Personal papers of Athanase Vanhove (superior of the establishment-sement), 24, entry of January 13, 1914.

7 Souvenirs, no. 325, November 6, 1897. This delegation even includes pro-CORTAMISES."

7 Jerusalem, no. 10, April 24, 1905, p. 202.

Sorlin, op. «it, p. 166.

7 Jerusalem, No. 90, December 24, 1911, 'Some notes on Zionism', p. 588 sq.

7 NDF Archives, 12: ephemerides 1901–1905, entry of May 11, 1904.

7 'Teaching is done in French; the spoken language is our national dialect-Finally, the machines are French and all the raw materials are imported from our country to the extent possible." (Jerusalem, No. 58, April 24, 1909, 'The Schools') (from Jerusalem, H. Rechner, p. 375 sq., quote p. 376).

7 Jbid., no. 119, May 24, 1914, 'The French Protectorate in the Orient', p. 143 sq., repri from an article by Paul Parsy, Écho de Paris, September 29, 1915.

The Assumptionists are reluctant to accept that the AIU is receiving more attention that they, on behalf of the French government.

This possible closeness between Catholic and Jewish religious figures exists again through intellectual contacts. Certainly the Assumptionists do not go so far as to trade regularly, or even collaborate, with the Jewish elites; while the Dominicans of the Biblical School welcome before the First World War in their library the linguist Eliezer Ben Yehouda, the reformer of Hebrew, and they frequented him at various occasions;® as they participate after the conflict in various archaeological forums that bring them into contact with Jewish specialists.5! But because they see themselves as 'missionary archaeologists', the Assumption-Nists frequent the city's scientific circles. This leads them to go and listen, for example, to a lecture by Captain Weill, French Jewish officer who served before the First World War excavations on behalf of Baron de Rothschild: not only This conference takes place in PAIU, but it is also a 'talk'

really interesting".®?

Catholic Communities and Zionism

The relative emotion that the French Catholic religious in Palestine can feel before those who are part of the people from whom Christ came out and is reflected in their perception of Zionism. And as in the case of religious Judaism (as opposed to politicized Judaism) (tic), it is possible to describe this attitude in a binary way.

7 NDF Archives, 13: ephemerides 1905–1908, entry of November 3, 1905, to regarding the 'sectarian logic' which would lead to the elimination of allowances to religious institutions, in favor of those of the AIU.

Archives of Saint Stephen of Jerusalem (Dominican convent, subsequently: ASEJ), convent calendar September 25, 1912–December 31, 1921, entry of the 18th November 1921. The Dominicans of Jerusalem also host a conference a ceremony in honor of 'Eliezer Ben Yehouda, renewer of the Hebrew language' (ibid., convent calendar January 1, 1928–January 26, 1935, entry of January 11–(vier 1933).

8 Jhd., convent calendar September 25, 1912–December 31, 1921, entry of the January 8, 1920. See also Ronald Storrs, Orientations, Nicholson and Watson, London, 1945;1p."428"sq.

#2 NDF Archives, Vanhove Papers, 24, entry from March 10, 1914.

A cursed Zionism

While, as Pierre Sorlin mentions, “Zionism stammers–Tiant does not arouse much interest among the Parisian Assumptionists. He very early on attracted the attention of their brothers in Jerusalem. He is initially perceived ironically,” but also and especially in a negative. This assessment stems directly from the perspective that Islands religious beliefs lead to Judaism.

Zionism is thus considered an element destined to destroy their image of the Holy Land: in the same way that the Jews have tendency to 'disturb' and alter the landscape, if only by their contributing to the modernization of the region, the Zionists impose a profound revolution in that same environment.

This begins first with the demographic upheavals that the movement is generating, with the growth of colonies 'whose pro–'Spérité becomes threatening despite many setbacks'.* Besides the theme of enrichment, which applies to Zionism just as naturally–more than Judaism in general, one perceives here a genuine concern Study: The irony used with regard to Zionist ceremonies gives way to a more serious consideration of this new factor. Certainly, religious leaders are aware of the significant divisions that

knows the movement;® certainly this one claims to be based on
Jews whose character, as old prejudices demonstrate,
'is very poorly suited to either field work or tra-
industrial vail proper, which makes the realization of the difficult
national dream pursued by Zionism.®” But its undeniable successes-
These shortcomings over the years can only lead to questions: the
Zionism is modernizing Palestine, in the disturbing sense of the term," and to
Ultimately, it seems that it could one day lead to verification.
political pretensions. Furthermore, he does not hesitate to use the
corruption to achieve one's ends,” which ultimately can only be…

5 Sorlin, op. cit, p. 157.

This demonstrates a shared set of ideas between the Assumption in Paris and in Jerusalem, since the first Zionist meetings provoked the same skepticism (Echos of Notre-Dame de France, no. 100, December 15, 1901, p. 215).

% Echos de Notre-Dame de France, no. 84-85, August-September 1900, p. 119.

% Jerusalem, no. 39, September 24, 1907, 'The Jews in Palestine', p. 534 sq.; and ibid. No. 52, October 24, 1908, 'Zionism—Its Origins Its Future', p. 223 sq.

Ibid, n° 39, September 24, 1907, p. 535.

® Jbid., no. 97, July 24, 1912, 'The Jewish Renaissance in Palestine', p. 166 sq.

Jbid., no. 121, July 24, 1914, 'The Jews', p. 214, reprinted from an article by Father H

damaging to Christian interests, i.e. Catholic interests, in Palestine.
In fact, the Zionist attitude is insolent and anti-historical since it im-
explains the risk of seeing the kingdom of Israel re-established, which would not have
their aim is to 'prove Christ a lie'.

Zionism is reprehensible for other reasons, which highlight
the contradictions in the attitude of our religious leaders. In their eyes, it is
both a source of unrest, insofar as the national awakening
that which it translates and arouses can only provoke a resurgence of anti-Semitism
time, particularly in Europe.® But it is also reprehensible because
that he puts an end to assimilation, which is considered eminently vicious
by the Assumptionists in France, and must ultimately lead to
to the creation of a Jewish state. However, this state, which may appear as
the solution to the Jewish question, an option imagined by La Croix de
A very early approach is also synonymous with danger: a Jewish state does not
Is there a risk that it will become the all-powerful center of Jewish activism?
and the Jewish conspiracy?

Furthermore, before 1914 Zionism was condemnable because it

is clearly the influencing element of one of the biggest rivals
of France in the East, Germany. Whereas, as we have just seen
Seeing this, the AIU, although Jewish, appears benevolent because it acts
In a French sense, Zionism is clearly of Germanic obedience.
manicure." Moreover, his future only seems assured as
instrument of Germany': the religious therefore deny it any existence
tence and all independent survival."

Suspicions regarding Zionism before 1914 can only
to find confirmation in the unfolding of history, in particular

sj, in Petites relations d'Orient, May 1914: 'the Zionists know that the Turkish regulatic
may bend... and that King Dollar is never unwelcome."

% Jhid., no. 120, June 24, 1914.

1 Where the Assumptionists find themselves in the same situation as later
Nazi Germany: the creation of a Jewish state is the solution, but at the same time
She is the worst thing imaginable.

® Erusalem, No. 90, December 24, 1911, 'Some notes on Zionism', p. 588 sq.:
which is the transposition into the field of international relations of the rejection of
Judaism in France because it is associated with Germany (see Pierre Pierrard, Les
Christians and the Dreyfus Affair, Paris, L'Atelier, 1998, p. 196).

The article published on December 24, 1911 concludes by stating that 'Zionism
as an instrument of German penetration can still do us a great deal
of evil. We have no interest in the reconstruction of the temple; on the other hand, every
What weakens France strikes us to the core. This is the case with Zionism.
Let's take that as a given." (p. 589).

in the aftermath of the First World War which should lead to bou-
real uprisings in the Palestinian context.

From May 1918, the French Catholic religious of Jerusalem per-
perceive the imminence of the danger: everything conspires to give more in
more importance given to the Jews, therefore to the Zionists, at the expense of
other populations of Palestine; we are irrevocably moving from the stage
the first, and all in all timid, achievements, from the dream to a
The realization of Zionist goals is very possible:

The Israelis obviously imagine that Zionism will cease to be
A dream. I still don't believe it, but it's likely that, under the
The Jews, better, will be subject to a regime of greater freedom than that of the future.
financially well-equipped and more resourceful than our Christians and that
Muslims will have more influence than them in business and politics."

However, there is a shift in the games of interest, which stems from the
alliances of the First World War: whereas, before 1914, the
Zionism was clearly perceived as an element of German influence.
In the war, it is now associated with Great Britain. But the victory
of this Christian power in Palestine, which could have meant the
full realization of the ideas of French religious figures, notably the restoration-
The emergence of a Frankish kingdom is becoming increasingly worrying.
It fulfills the premonition of an Austrian officer, expressed in
during the conflict, he had been criticized for his support of the Empire
Ottoman: according to him, Austria-Hungary then supported the Turks 'Parce
that our emperor is king of Jerusalem and that the English give-
would [Jerusalem] to the Jews. In fact, the Assumptionists note,
at the moment when British power was establishing itself in its new
walls, 'Americans, English and Jews come more freely here than
"The French. Alas." In this situation, it is clearly understood.
that religious people receive with satisfaction everything that appears
as a Zionist failure: whether at the time of the conference
of Peace," or later when the British limited the quo-

% Family News, No. 201, May 24, 1918, p. 38]. An opinion shared by
the director of the Dominican Biblical School, Father Lagrange, which he disseminates in
several articles aimed at the general Catholic public: 'And Palestine', in Le Correspondar
CCLIX (New Series CCXXIIT), May 25, 1915, pp. 723-734, in particular
p. 734; 'Jewish Nationalism and Palestine—Then and Now, The Correspondent,
April 10, 1918, p. 1 sq.

% Jbid., n° 212, June 24, 1918, p. 474.

% Jbid., no. 230, August 26, 1918, p. 137.

7 Jbid., no. 301, May 24, 1919: 'Well-informed people claim that the Jews

a mass of Jewish immigration, apparently calling into question the commitment-
taken by the Balfour Declaration.® With the satisfaction of seeing
that for once the Zionists are no longer the only ones in charge
and can no longer impose their views." And we rejoice again
In addition to this new situation, there is also the crisis that is occurring.
Zionism in the second half of the 1920s.10

In reality, however, the advance of Palestine towards a hand-
British bet confirms the worst premonitions: London puts in
puts in place a so-called system of emancipation, but this is only worth
for Jews and Zionists. For others, this orientation means

On the contrary, an unbearable alienation." Zionist domination

which is being completed is, for its part, total: it is political, with the
putting in place everything that can fulfill the Balfour promise;
It is economical when certain monopolies are granted to
Jews." In total, 'Certainly the Englishman is on display, but subservient to the influence
Jewish", ® which is obviously crowned by the presence
Herbert Samuel, a Jew and pro-Zionist, was appointed High Commissioner
British."

picked up a log at the Peace Conference. May they be right, these informants
optimistic amateurs" (p. 236). This attitude is to be placed in parallel with that of the
Vatican at the same time (see Sergio I. Minerbi, he Vatican and Zionism —Confuct
in the Holy Land 1895-1925, New York-Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990).

% Letter to Dispersion, No. 368, November 21, 1930.

® Jerusalem, no. 159, January-February 1931, 'White Lavre on Palestine', p. 20, and
ibid., no. 162, July-August 1931,

100 Jhid., no. 163, September-October 1931, 'The Zionist Congress of Basel', p. 134 sq.

11 "It is without enthusiasm, one can imagine, that the natives welcomed the new-
the approval by the Council of the League of Nations of the mandate on the
Palestine. [...] Mandates, in general, were created to help peoples in
the path to progress and enabling them to govern themselves as soon as possible
ble. But the Palestinian mandate has another purpose: to subjugate the natives to foreigne
gers despised by them, who already own one-thirtieth (the best) part of the land
arable land, some 50,000 hectares distributed across 71 colonies, and who dream of nothing
less than complete political domination through the founding of a kingdom
of Israel." (Letter to the Dispersion, No. 29, September 21, 1922, p. 216).

12 as in the case of electricity with the concession granted to Rutenberg:
'Thus, it was placed in the hands of a single man, as the Duke of wrote
Westminster in the Times, the whole future of Ferre Sainte." (bid.).

10 Letter to Dispersion, No. 69, November 9, 1923, p. 527.

104 'Zionism is progressing. The municipality now has a Jewish vice-president,
appointed ex officio, and it was to an English Jew, Mr. Herbert Samuel, former minister of
Finances in London, where the position of general administrator of the Palesüine was offer
(Family News, No. 362, June 3, 1920, pp. 214-215). For his part, Robert de
Caix, the Secretary General of the French High Commission in Syria-Lebanon, returns
from Jerusalem, has these very harsh words regarding Samuel: 'This English Jew well
raised, cleansed of the ghettos, he was fully reclaimed in Jerusalem by his tribe and he

But in the eyes of the French congregation, this Anglo-
Zionism must also be understood from a religious perspective. In this respect, it appears-
rat all the more reprehensible as it signifies a concrete alliance
between Protestantism and Judaism. A major target of antisemitism-
"ism at the time of the Dreyfus affair," this harmful alliance resembles-
strangely ble to the conspiracy denounced by the Assumptionists since
always, in line with the struggle against Protestantism
by the founder of the congregation, Father d'Alzon. In fact,
This translates into Jewish audacity authorized by the pro- power
British testator: this is also the case with the staging in the City
saint of La fuiwe, by Halévy, 'piece [...] insulting to the car-
dinals', which the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem is obliged to inter-
to say twice." An event that is not unique, to the point
that the Assumptionists can speak of intense propaganda
Zionist-Protestant'." The impression is lasting and reappears regularly-
linked as a perpetual proclamation of the struggle of Judaism/
Zionism allied with Protestantism against Catholicism.

This situation is obviously not accepted as such by the
religious: they are not content with simply noting a Catholic decline-
lique and French, but they also imagine ways to fight against it.
For example, they join forces with French pressure groups encouraging
raging at the fall of Palestine into France's grasp!
But they are also observing the situation on the ground, by making
account. That's why they look favorably upon the creation of comi-
Islamic-Christian communities, which are bringing together for the first time, under the
Due to circumstances, populations were reluctant to collaborate.

attends synagogue, does not accept invitations on the Sabbath, and does not travel
that on foot on the holy day. It is a strange phenomenon when one considers the ignominy
evident from the Jews of Galicia and other neighboring regions, who are currently flooding
Palestine, but which forces people like Sir Herbert into their childish ways.
(Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, Levant 1918-1940, Palestine,
2, general file, May 1919-May 1920, extract from a letter from De Caix to the Ministry of
October 19, 1920).

1% Sorlin, op. cit., p. 117, and Antoine Compagnon, Do You Know Brunetière? Survey
on an anti-Dreyfusard and his friends, Seuil, Paris, 1997.

1% Letter to Dispersion, No. 99, July 19, 1924, p. 186, and Frederik H. Küisch,
Palestine Diary, Victor Gollancz, London, 1938, entry of June 19, 1923, p. 131.

107 Jerusalem, no. 122, September 24-December 1924, p. 238.

1 This is how we find in the records of Saint Anne of Jerusalem
copies of the Correspondence of the French Association of Friends of Palestine, strong-
anti-Zionist stance (ASAJ, file 14. The Palestinian question).

the past." Along the same lines, they perceive the disturbances
which affected Palestine in the early 1920s as a vio-
Slow, but fair, reaction from populations who see themselves gradually-
placed under the control of 'foreign' elements. The fact that the
The fact that Muslims are 'overexcited' can only be explained by the
'Zionist threat'. And this violence can only get worse then-
that the English, in the repression, are clearly exercising a justice
a two-tiered ice cream, obviously much more lenient towards the Zionists
than towards the Arabs!"® Skirmishes are a healthy activity for them
reaction to a regularly observed Jewish invasion;!!! they
are all the more necessary as no one dares to act against
The gradual realization of the goals of Zionism: You don't report
the Balfour Declaration because 'the world is currently too Jewish'
to do it? The fight against Zionist aims, to which the religious-
French priests contribute in their own way, taking on more and more
of magnitude over time, depending on the actual risk of explosion
which exists: Arab violence is now met with Jewish violence.

But they note with some satisfaction that the mandate
English is proving less and less of a miracle solution, the religious
from the mid-1920s onwards, they seemed increasingly resigned.
Faced with the evolving situation: their initial fighting spirit,
after the capture of Jerusalem, resulting in the aspiration for control
French on Palestine, is gradually fading away."""" From now on, cer-
Some of their stances sound more like wishful thinking.
than demonstrations intended to convince.'"

This attitude can be explained by two reasons. On the one hand, Zionism
can only prevail, insofar as it is linked to all the 'forces'
of Evil': besides its direct link with Protestantism, Zionism

19 Family News, No. 307, June 11, 1919.

110 Jhid., no. 358, May 4, 1920, and no. 362, June 3, 1920.

1 Jhid., no. 386, November 21, 1920, no. 400, March 27, 1921, and Jerusalem, no. 128,
November 24-December 1925.

12 Family News, No. 408, June 24, 1921, p. 130.

3 Letter to Dispersion, no. 27, August 28, 1922, p. 195, and b1d., no. 20, June 20, 1922,
4
P.S. This is, for example, what Bishop Baudrillart, rector of
the Catholic Institute of Paris, during his visit to the Holy Land in 1923 (Alfred
Baudrillart, The Cardinal's Notebooks, January 1, 1922-December 1925, text presented, esta
and annotated by Paul Christophe, Paris, Éd. du Cerf, 2001, entry of September 27
1923).

Got when they call for a truly Christian reign on Earth
holy (Jerusalem, no. 134, November-December 24, 1926, p. 630).

is close to communism; it is synonymous with secularism" as
of imperialism;!!# he is still suspected of 'Germanism', but is
best known for having ties to Freemasonry."
On the other hand, the resignation of the religious is due to the ineffectiveness of the
antidotes: this 'deceptive' disease has no one to provide it
effectively face. Official France, which should protect the interests-
French loans directly threatened under its former prerogatives
gatives,/?! is penetrated by Freemasonry, as shown by
eloquently the brief government of the Cartel of the Left and its
repercussions in the Levant." While the Arabs, those in whom we
had raised some hopes, but are increasingly showing signs of disunity:
This is the result of the malevolent and corrupting action of the sio-
nism;/?* but also the rivalry between Arab leaders, who do not find
There's nothing better to do than make promises to the Zionists, to the
at the time of the municipal elections, for example.'* Finally, the orienta-
The increasingly violent stance chosen by the Arabs is progressive-
This is rejected by our religious leaders, who do not recognize themselves in this...
form of action.

In this situation, religious people have only one solution left:
to see the future of Palestine in black.' The repeated unrest has
a direct consequence on their daily lives: they generate natural-
genuinely fear and hinder the progress a little more each time-
element of pilgrimages, main activity and major origin of
income of the Assumptionists; when they do not prevent them from com-

M6 Jhid., no. 133, September-October 1926, p. 605.

M7 Jhid., no. 141, January-February 1928, p. 218.

M8 Jhid., n° 146, November 24-December 1928, p. 367.

T9 Jbid., no. 126, July-August 1925.

which even deceives Rothschild (ibid, no. 127, September-October 1925, pp.
414 415,

1 Letter to Dispersion, No. 244, November 3, 1927.

2 Jerusalem, no. 126, July-August 24, 1925. As proof, one might cite this
France, which at the same time sent an eminent Freemason, General Sarrail,
as High Commissioner in Syria-Lebanon (ibid, no. 132, July-August 24, 1926).

'The Jews bought at exorbitant prices, plot by plot, almost all of the
Palestine. The Arabs who do not hide their political views...
The final stage of Zionism, they sold and are selling their land, attracted by the power

The magic of the dollar. They even still lend themselves to working in Jewish settlements. (chid., no. 124, March–April 24, 1925, p. 320).

4 Jbid., no. 138, July–August 1927, p. 102.

5 Jbid., no. 163, September–October 1931, Letter to the Dispersion, no. 644, May 22 1936, No. 652, August 3, 1936, and No. 659, October 1, 1936.

6 Jhid., no. 321, October 1, 1929, p. 250.

Completely. That's why the obstinacy that exists on all sides can only inspire pessimism: English obstinacy in applying the Balfour Declaration; 7 Zionist obstinacy in increasing the population Jewish of Palestine; # Arab obstinacy in opting for violence.

Subsequent events only confirmed this impression. disastrous, when the Assumptionist establishment of Notre-Dame France is placed at the center of the most serious Judeo-Arab conflicts. between 1936 and 1939, then located on the front line between Arabs and Jews, then Israelis, after the Second World War and the pro- proclamation of the State of Israel. !∗

Settled in a Palestine that no longer has anything to do with the Earth holy Christian woman they might have dreamed of upon their arrival in Jerusalem, French Catholic religious leaders can only condemn to identify the major element at the root of these unhealthy developments: the Zionism!

Constructive Zionism

Finally, as in the case of religious Judaism, Zionism sus- cites a complex, and often contradictory, reception on the part of French Catholic communities established in Palestine. In fact, in parallel with what has just been described, it is also perceived as in a positive or neutral way. The factors that explain this conception- nuanced tion are of the same nature as those which had served as

127 Jerusalem, no. 163, September–October 1931, and Letter to the Dispersion, no. 508, December 6, 1933.

18 Jerusalem, no. 176, November–December 1933, p. 572 sq.

1% Jhid., No. 180, July–August 1934.

130 NDF Archives, 22: community reports, business cards, general curia,

File: correspondence with major superiors, letter from Our Lady of France to a Reverend Father (Gervais Quénard?, Rome), December 20, 1946, and Letter from Our Lady of France to a Reverend Father (Gervais Quénard?, Rome), December 15, 1946. See also 2: relations with civil authorities, file: relations with civil authorities (except for the French consulate), memorandum presented to the Conciliation Commission UN action by the Catholic religious communities of the Jewish sector Jerusalem, 1948. It is also in this capacity that the Notre-Dame de France building occupies an important place in the fictionalized chronicle of the events of 1947-1948 In Jerusalem, by Dominique Lapierre and Larry Collins (Robert Laffont, Paris, 1971).

+1 78 1920 and 1940, this attitude is also that of La Croix (see in René Rémond, Émile Poulat (Ed.), One Hundred Years of History of 'La Croix', 1883-1983, Le Cent Paris, 1988, Pierre Pierrard, 'La Croix et les juifs de 1920 à 19407, p. 278 sq).

justification for the tolerance observed towards Judaism itself.

From its very beginnings, Zionism aroused the curiosity of religious figures. those in or passing through Palestine: at a time when the region is experiencing a significant break in its economic development, the Herzl's movement, with its first colonies, played a major role in... their rise, which prompts a fairly precise study of their part.

For example, they regularly report on Zionist congresses. If, as we saw above, these meetings elicit their irony, when they are the arena where the multiple tendencies of the mou- In fact, they also constitute the place where the Jewish renaissance is conceived. in Palestine. While in some places the emphasis is placed on the noise that is made Zionism, it is also conceded, that this organization demonstrates a real effectiveness and that it knows how to meet the expectations of settlers on the ground and instill in them hope:

There is undoubtedly an element of dream and utopia in Zionism. This should be seen primarily as an effort by Israelite intellectuals to don- to give to the Jewish proletarians, these outcasts among outcasts, an education and a hope that lifts them out of their degradation, that persuades them tooth that they are part of a race destined to reconstitute its unity, to to regain its independence on its native soil.

The need to describe this movement becomes apparent when the following are recalled and its major milestones and its main goals." What we can pres- that can be described as admiration regularly shines through, and the religious they even resort to the 'pope of anti-Semitism', Edouard Drumont, who sometimes knows how to speak of it in glowing terms.'® The interest pursued

1? To the Brothers of the Dispersion (in the East), n.d., June 1900, p. 4.

5 'Enthusiastic followers of Zionism are growing, not only in number, but also in quality, and revive the Jewish national spirit" (Jerusalem, No. 14, August 24) 1905, 'Zionism', p. 297).

1% For example, in tbid., no. 139, September–October 1927, 'The origins of the 'Zionism', p. 141 sq. (excerpt from La Revue Universelle (July 1927), article by the broth Tharaud entitled 'A Short History of the Jews') or ibid, no. 140, November–December 24 1927, 'The colonizing effort of the Jews in Palestine', p. 175 sq.

5 "We must recognize that the Jew, when he thus affirms his nationality, dis- tint, no longer appears in the odious or ridiculous guise under which we represent it- we usually feel. There is truly an undeniable greatness in a race that, after having gone through so many trials, endured so many vicissitudes, publicly declares that nothing, neither the passage of centuries nor the will of men, could destroy within h the awareness of his nationality and the hope of having a homeland of his own. [...] The J The aspiration to rebuild a homeland is worthy of respect. The Jew who destroys the homela of others is worthy of all contempt. The Jew who wants to have a flag and a

For Zionism, moreover, it provokes incomprehension, even stupefaction. fear, among readers of the plundered periodicals. Such reactions, which resemble reminders of the rules (how can one be interested in Zionism and not condemning it while being anti-Semitic?) sus- They, in turn, cite justifications. From the religious leaders: one does not is only interested in it for documentary purposes, and besides, 'It is good that the Friends of the Onient should be fully informed on all these matters.

But in reality, as has already been pointed out, the interest of The religious aspect of Zionism is not merely informative: the a movement that is gaining momentum and strengthening over the years is perceived as a solution to the Jewish question.*' We then witness to the developments of Jewish immigration to Palestine, movement demographic most often described in neutral terms, in the within the framework of 'scientific' interest in Judaism. The progression of This immigration is then perceived as an effective step forward in the solution to the Jewish problem and as such does not fit in the traditional denunciation of the 'Jewish invasion': the most su- but these figures are accompanied by data concerning the real- economic situations that the Jewish demographic dynamism causes. Certainly, these developments are synonymous with the modernization of Palestine, which bothers the religious, but at the same time they undeniably constitute progress in the life of the country. Such "Progress is perceived very early" and Zionism is immediately akin to- ment to a factor in the development of Palestine, since it gives Jerusalem a healthier image * and helps to bring out the Holy land due to its status as a remote province of the Empire;'*" but

religion is a brave Jew, and we will never utter any against him
words that could hurt him. [...] If the Zionist idea ever became a reality, if
the exodus of Israel took place one day towards Palestine or any other point in the vast u
towards, we would certainly not shed any tears at the moment of separation;
On the contrary, we would very sincerely say to travelers: —Good luck and
Good luck! (ibid., no. 39, September 24, 1907, p. 536, excerpt from La Libre Parok,
August 20, 1907).

156 Jerusalem, No. 54, December 24, 1908.

137 Jhid., no. 52, October 24, 1908, and no. 111, September 24, 1913.

18 Demographic data is very abundant in the journal [Ferusalem: No. 27,
September 24, 1906, No. 31; January 24, 1907, No. 47; May 24, 1908, No. 61; July 24
1909, no. 71, May 24, 1910, no. 78, December 24, 1910, no. 86, August 24, 1911, for
to mention only a few issues from before 1914.

den t36mdasottel907,.p. 527.

10 hidion° 97, 24guilet#1912, p.168.

HZ in" 68, 24sfevrienalol0;

It also translates into the qualitative development of the population
local Jewish woman: she who has always been considered incapable-
able to engage in anything other than commerce or prayer, she
seems capable of 'transforming itself into an industrial working people'.

This dual regeneration is perceived over the long term. Observed
During the Ottoman Empire, it was valid in Palestine.
mandated where the progress of Zionism is also received as good-
making things easier for a Jewish population tempted to remain confined in
its obscurantism;∗ as for a region that suffers from the rivers
conflicts between Arab leaders, increasingly incapable of developing a
constructive policy. Consequently, the review's column
Assumptionist Jerusalem, partly dedicated to Catholic life
Holy Land, over the years, is becoming more and more a description
improvements to the region's economic and cultural landscape.

The subject of the Hebrew University constitutes, in our opinion, a
excellent illustration of the contrasting image that Zionism presents to
eyes of the French religious figures in Jerusalem. This theme appears for the
first time in Assumptionist literature in April 1908, with
demonstration of the advantages of installing such an establishment-
sement in a cultural center like Jerusalem, steeped in history
exciting and full of promise.# As such, the University contributes to the

'Jewish renaissance in Palestine', by giving it the means to accomplish
"pil."*#* Result of an external will, it will be able to give birth-
sance to 'a creative spirit that will enrich the forces of humanity'.
The realization of this idea in 1913, during the 11th SIO Congress
The niste, in Vienna, * is a source of inspiration for Muslims!

1# Jhud., no. 147, January-February 24, 1929, p. 404.

#5 e prestigious souvenir of Israel would effectively influence studies' (ibid., no. 46,
April 24, 1908, p. 103).

“It is proposed to establish a Jewish University in Jerusalem which, it is said, will t
a rallying point for Jewish students from all over the world, as well as other-
at times the temple was the rallying center for the Diaspora Congregations (dis-
(persion). Until the 12th century, in fact, Jews in the East had their own universities.
for the study of Jewish law, which maintained a certain unity of views among
the exiles. The dissolution of the center that existed in Persia caused their disappearanc
But now that a new rallying point is being formed,
The possibility of reconstituting a central seat of knowledge and of making
Jerusalem, the intellectual capital of the entire nation. Moreover, apart from the
needs of Israelis in general, the growth of the Palestinian community
will soon create the need to provide higher education in the country
same.” (ibid, no. 97, July 24, 1912, p. 169).

4 Jhid., no. 111, September 24, 1913, and no. 113, November 24, 1913.

#6 Jbid., no. 165, January-February 1932, and no. 173, May-June 1938.

as for Catholics." It is certainly synonymous with transfer
progressive transfer of power into the hands of the Jewish elite, who emerged from it
Tira, the embodiment of a Palestine that religious figures can only
reject since it automatically excludes them, by definitively excluding them
the Catholic Holy Land to which they aspire;"# its inauguration,
in April 1925, is recorded as a significant event
for Palestine. This ceremony certainly does not address all the
hopes and its pompous character arouse the biting irony of the chronicler
fucker of Notre-Dame de France;'* but one thing is certain: by
through its intermediary, the Zionists are giving new life to a
land that is just waiting for this, what other populations do not seem-
They are unable to do so: it is 'an establishment [...] [which] must
'normally transform the country'.

The progress made by the University is conscientiously recorded.
Registered by the religious order: creation of new pulpits a few years
later, "!" inauguration and development of the uni- library
versitaire, |” tenth anniversary ceremony, in 1935, or even
participation in its activities.” Moreover, they are valued fairly

measure. This is how the laying of the first stone of the faculty
of medicine, in 1934, 'virtually constitutes the emancipation of the
Near East of Europe in the field of medicine. This
Isn't this observation a clear endorsement of a movement whose
Should all communities in Palestine benefit?

Beyond this gradual empowerment of Palestine and
the grandeur it bestows upon it, the University illustrates, in our opinion, the
fascination/repulsion that French Catholic religious figures feel
towards the development of the region. There is in their attitude a

(#7 Jhid., no. 125, May–June 24, 1925.
48 Jhud., no. 126, July–August 1925.
14 ASEJ, convent calendar January 1, 1922 – December 31, 1927, entry of the
April 1, 1925.
50 NDF Archives, 14: ephemerides 1923–1937, entries for March 25, 31, and
April 2, 1995; see also Jerusalem, no. 126, July–August 24, 1925.
151 Jhid., no. 149, May–June 1929, p. 479, and no. 169, September–October 1932,
1850!
is 152 Jhid., no. 155, May–June 1930, p. 670, and no. 188, November–December 24
1935, p. 186 sq.
155 Jhid., no. 186, July–August 24, 1935. £
1# ASEJ, chronicle of the convent of Saint Stephen, January 1, 1935 – October 6
1940, entries from June 18, 1935 and December 13, 1938.
155 Terusalem, no. 182, November 24–December 1934, p. 754 sq.

a certain jealousy, since the Zionists, in the space of a few years,
leave their mark on Palestine in an irreversible way; while
the establishment of a 'Catholic and French' Holy Land remains
from the realm of dreams and rhetorical discourse. But this jealousy
also reflects an admiration for a very well-organized work (and
funded, despite temporary setbacks). This illustrates the resurgence
of the 'past greatness' of the Hebrew people, that which contradicts-
This situation served to establish Assumptionist antisemitism: the pitiful state
Judaism at the end of the 19th century was perceived by them as the
the best demonstration of the breaking of their covenant with God, the
the revival of Judaism exemplified by Zionism, particularly the University
Hebrew, can it not be considered a return to God? Hope
all the more justified given that, in the logic of previous findings-
res, the Jewish renaissance may appear as a sign of recognition
birth of the true God, the one of the Catholics, therefore of his son, the
Messiah. As such, the 'high Hebrew culture' which takes shape in
University is an opportunity that no one should miss: neither
neither the Jews, who must continue along this path; nor the Catholics!
of the country, which must respond to current developments and
to open up to Judaism, with the idea of going through a Hebraization of
Catholic communities in Palestine, which could serve as

mediators!??

55 “Let us hope at least that, in their gilded solitude of the Scopus, the masters

that we hope to recruit from universities in Europe or America stubbornly
lend an ear to the noise of the quarrels that agitate and will continue to agitate the cit
the country; may they, continuing the study of scientific or philosophical problems
questions with the impassive serenity of the surrounding desert, to meet someone
issues of knowledge He who, right here, proclaimed himself Truth made man and
the Light of the world, and not to turn away from its radiance.' (ibid., no. 126, 24)
July–August 1925, p. 378).
57 Jhid., no. 130, March–April 24, 1926.

ITALY AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY: AN EDEN FOR
JEWS OF THE ITALIAN RELIGION?

Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci

At the end of the 19th century, at a time when demonstrations against
Jews are developing in many European countries, by force
to note that Italy has not experienced any manifestations of anti-Semitism
mass ism, nor violence against Jews! At the turning point
of the century, the Dreyfus affair seems to have erased the memory of the affair
Mortara in the peninsula. This one, forty years earlier, had for-
This aroused so much emotion, far beyond Bologna, from the
Papal States and an Italy still 'geographical expression'.
While in France, the Dreyfus affair ended with the triumph of the republicans
Cains and the defeat of the anti-Semites, in the history of Judaism, the affair
Mortara represented a defeat on multiple levels: for the family
of the child who never succeeded in obtaining Edgardo's release
Mortara and even less his return to the religion of his ancestors;
for all Jewish and non-Jewish networks, in Italy and abroad
ger, who had mobilized against papal arbitrariness and against
practices of the old regime. However, the arrival of the unitary troops at
Rome in 1870, the defeat of the papacy and the emancipation of the Jews
in the new capital of the young state were many events
which, at least on the surface, erased the memory of such an episode.

A New Political Framework Conducive to Integration

Numerous accounts from the last quarter of the 19th century evoke-
They appreciate the benefits of Unity for the Jews of Italy and the close link

! In 1861, the Jews of the peninsula, within the framework of the current Italian borders-

The number was approximately 39,000. Regarding demographic aspects: S. Della Pergola, 'La population ebraica in Italia nel contesto ebraico global' in C. Vivant (dir.), Storia d'Italia, Annali IL, Gl ebrei in Ltaha Einaudi, Turin, 1997, pp. 895–936.

2 On the Mortara affair: D. Kertzer, Pius IX and the Jewish child. The abduction of Edgardo Mortara, (trans. from English), New York, 1997, Perrin, Paris, 2001.

uniting them with the new institutions. Enthusiasm for the new-
The political course was first manifested by a genuine devo-
tion with regard to the King and the royal family and by the expression of a
overwhelming gratitude.

The Israelites bless every day the august House which, first
In Italy, he proclaimed freedom of conscience, equality for all
religions before the law

wrote the rabbi of Rome in 1890. If the adherence of the Jews of Italy
the Risorgimento and then the new institutional course resulted in
she had great enthusiasm for the House of Savoy,' she also took-
taking the form of a veritable credo in the values of liberalism
and of the nation. Observer of the respective situations of the various
Jewish communities in Europe, Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu reported to
on numerous occasions the very particular position of Italian Jews
within the national framework." In 1898, David Levi, former member of parliament and author from a work on Hebraism and the principles of the French Revolution pre-
perceived liberalism as being much more than a political idea:
'For us, it is a religion, the essence, the reason for being of Israelism.'

After 1870, many Italian Jews experienced an upward mobility
rapid social development, with 'work and knowledge' promoting rapid success
within the liberal professions and the civil service, many
some of them also attained the highest administrative positions
and political." While there is no comprehensive work on the process-
the constitution of political elites from Judaism, the evo-
The resolutions reported by contemporaries have been corroborated by the
research work carried out in recent years.® Several factors

∗ The quoted passage was written on the occasion of the death of the King's brother, within From an Italian chronicle: L'Univers israélite, 'Italian Chronicle', no. 10 of March 1 1890, p. 365.

∗ On the link between nation-building and monarchy: C. Brice, 'The Monarchy, an overlooked player in the 'nationalization' of the Italians?' in Revue d'Histoire moderne contemporary, 45-1, January-March 1998.

∗ For example: 'I often go to Italy, I have never met an Italian
more jealous of national greatness than Mr. Luzzati, the former Minister of the Treasury',
in Israel among the nations, Calmann-Lévy, p. 387.

® Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (hereafter AIU), Letter addressed to the
of the Israelite Alliance on September 12, 1898.

© On the sociological profile of Italian Jews, M. Mariggi, 'Bourgeoisie, Bügertum,
borghesia: 1 contesti sociali dell'emancipazione ebraica' in F. Sofia, M. Toscano
(dir.), Stato nazionale ed emancipazione ebraica, Bonacci, Rome, pp. 155-169.

∗ Regarding the history of Jews in Italy, the two volumes published in the col-

have fostered such a dynamic. Some are linked to the history of sin-
General characteristics of Jewish communities in the pre-unification context: high
Literacy level compared to the rest of the population: very
probably also, experience in negotiation and diplomacy
tie acquired in the ghetto. Others are induced by the specificity of
Italian political life. Thus, the importance of the municipal framework in
political culture was probably a favorable factor for the interest-
Integration of Jewish communities. Through identities
municipal, Jews and non-Jews gathered around an apparatus
common tenancy, united by a bond at least as strong as the bond
national. Charged with conveying to the king the homage of the community
Roman Jewish community, in 1870, General Cadorna brought him a
letter in which they, significantly, greeted the Sovereign in
the quality of Italians, Romans, and Israelites. In 1874, the president
from the committee of the Alliance [Universal Society of Rome, Samuel Toscano,
admitted that campamlismo (which can be translated into French as 'spirit of
bell tower") was an essential element of Italian culture, including-
taken for the Jews!

The timid and belated adherence of Italian Jews to constitutional Zionism
kills a further clue as to how the majority of them
They positioned themselves within a perspective of unreserved integration./? The
The new condition of the Jews was not only reflected in the visibility of
the bility of its political elites. It was also expressed through a form
ostentatious display of religious and community presence, through
the construction of monumental religious buildings, not without

lection Storia d'Italia, Annah IL, Gl ebrei in ltalia (dir. C. Vivant}, Emaudi, Turin,
1997 constitutes the reference work (now cited as Sioria d'Itaha).
For the situation of Jews in the 19th century, see the second volume,
to the following contributions: F. Della Peruta, 'Gli ebrei nel Risorgimento fra inter-
dizioni e emancipazion'', op. ct, pp. 1135-1167; F. Levi, 'Gli ebrei nella vita eco-
nomica dell'Ottocento', 1bid., pp. 1169-1210.

Thus, in 1861, 64.5% of the population was illiterate in the kingdom
compared to only 6% of the Jewish population.

10 On these questions, see the special issue of Sud, Bulletin of the CERIM (French School-
çaise de Rome) (Citizenship and urbanity in Italy (19th-20th centuries)), 1996, p. 294.
1 AJU, letter of April 16, 1874, to the President of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

12? On the beginnings of Zionism in Italy, A. Cavaglion, 'Tendenze nazionali e
albori, sionistici" in C. Vivanti (dir.), Storia d'Italia, Annali II, Gli ebrei in Itaha,
Turin, 1997, pp. 1291-1320. T. Catalan, 'L'organizzazione delle comunità ebrai-
che italiane dall''Unità alla prima guerra monde' in Storia d'Italia, pp. 1243-1290;
M. Toscano, 'Ebraismo, sionismo, società: il caso italiano' in F. Sofia, M. Toscano,

opbeamperpp. 3985420;

Paradoxically, Jews, like Catholics, are confronted with secularism.
cization of society. To proclaim the end of an imposing era-
allowing Jews to design places of worship invisible in the landscape
urban architecture, veritable 'synagogues-cathedrals' were
built in several major cities.

The integration of Jewish elites within representative institutions
policies and social issues have often been highlighted as evidence of
the absence of antisemitism in Italian society. For a long time-
Over time, national memory and historiography have conveyed
the idea that Italy, a true exception in Europe, would have
"They have developed a form of immunity against the virus of antisemitism."* The
'enchanted' remarks emanating from representatives of the elites, and from certain-
Certain 'state Jews' have largely contributed to corroborating such a
vision of reality. In the absence of a socially differentiated approach
of the integration process of Italian Jews, it is difficult to verify
to what extent this was driven by a general dynamic and
consensual? It is therefore necessary to determine how the declarations
The previously mentioned optimistic scenarios could stem from a strategy aimed at
to accelerate a desired development.

As recent historiography has documented, reactions of hos-
Conflict and sometimes violent opposition accompanied the first, then
the second emancipation of the Jews in the peninsula." In the important-
his study devoted to the history of the Jewish community
Roman between 1870 and 1938, Stefano Caviglia, showed that

5 On the decline in religious practice within the Jewish community
Roman in the consecutive years at the Unity, S. Caviglia, L'idenhtà salvata. Gli ebrei
di Roma tra fede e nazione. 1870-1938, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 1996, pp. 40-46.

On the genesis, form, and consequences of such a conception, I will per-
I'm referring you to the article I published on the subject: 'Antisemitism in Italy:
'disagreements between memory and history', Herodotus, April 1998, pp. 138-217.

© The works of Stefano Caviglia devoted to the Jewish community of Rome
clearly demonstrated the gap between a predominantly poor population and its
representatives to the community council, mostly from the
bourgeoisie: a phenomenon that is not surprising in the political context and
social life in Italy at the end of the nineteenth century. However, on the scale of the co
community, for political reasons as well, the expression of social diversity
manifested itself more difficultly than in the rest of the peninsula. S. Caviglia, o. cit.
PDPPORS

15 On the revolutionary period, M. Caffiero, 'Gl ebrei d'Italia dall'età dei Lumi
agh anni della Rivoluzione', in Storia d'Italia, op. cit, pp. 1091-1132; A. Canepa,
'Considerazioni sulla seconda emancipazione', in Rasseena Mensile di Israel, vol. XLVII,
1981.

A Paradise for Jews of the Italian Religion? AI

the entry of Jews into Italian national society was not a mo-
harmonious and unobstructed movement, as is generally believed.
On the contrary, it was a slow and difficult movement, at the economic level.
micro-social, cultural and political."

The following reflections aim to provide some additional elements
Additional examples illustrating the complexity of such a development. Bypassing
the discursive axis 'Jewish community-national institutions', they are based on
tooth on the analysis of documents of different kinds. While the
The archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle allow us to explore, from the inside-
laughing, the way integration was experienced in the three to four
decades following Unification, telegrams sent to France,
At the time of the Dreyfus affair, they allow us to understand the readings
Italians of a central episode in the history of Judaism and its
representations. 1°

Integration experienced under the sign of precariousness

For several years, in the absence of a centralized institution, the Alliance
"Universal Israelite" was the only link between the main
communities of Italy." The correspondence addressed to the President of
The Alliance, through the heads of the committees, constitutes a source of par-
a document informing about the state of mind of the Italian Jewish faction

S$17. Caviglia, op. ai., p. 3.

18 The archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU) concerning Italy have been consulted on microfilm. My thanks go to Miss Lévy and to Mr. Kuperminc, director. The Bulletin of the Alhance 1sraéhite unwerselle was also stripped as well as the 1st Israeli Universe. The diplomatic archives consulted for The Dreyfus affair documents are filed at the Quai d'Orsay (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Germany series, Relations with France, Dreyfus affair, vol. 53 to 59.

9 On the Alliance Israélite Universelle, see A. Chouraqui, One Hundred Years of History. T Universal Israelite and the Contemporary Jewish Renaissance (1860–1960), Paris, 1965; G. W Emancipation and progress. The Universal Israelite Alliance and human rights, Ed. du Nadir Paris, 2000.

2 TT. Catalan, o. cit, p. 1248. Four regional committees are set up: Livorno; Ancona; Ferrara; Vercelli. Padova represents Veneto, under domination Austrian until 1866. Until 1914, there was a very wide diversity of status of Jewish communities in Italy, a legacy of pre-unification political disparities res. Thus, while in certain regions (Piedmont, Liguria, Emilia and Marche) Jews are automatically enrolled at the Israelite University in Rome, Florence, or Siena. The communities have the status of voluntary associations. Regarding legal aspects S. Mazzamuto, 'Ebraismo and direction of the prima emancipazione all'età republicana' in Storia d'Italia, op. cit., pp. 1765–1827.

the most committed to safeguarding a cultural and religious identity. If several of the correspondents are rabbis, and if their attachment- adherence to traditional practices and rituals betrays a certain conservatism In this regard, they share with all the committee leaders and the Alliance's interlocutors share the same 'private' conception of religion within a national framework guaranteeing equal rights and Cults?! All are involved, as their letters attest, in a multifaceted fight against prejudice and oppression, for the defense recently acquired rights and in a spirit of Jewish solidarity in line with the ideal of the founders of the Alliance.

Reading this correspondence, one gets the impression that if the Jews Italians are aware that they are benefiting from an extremely advantageous situation. favorable in terms of rights, peace of mind is more apparent. rent is not real. The improvement in their condition is always experienced under the sign of precariousness. Thus, in 1881, the Chief Rabbi and res- Head of the Modena Local Committee, address to the President of the Alliance a 'confidential' letter (written in French) from which a table emerges in chiaroscuro:

In Italy the population, in general, is good ... [with the Israelites]. But we have enjoyed free life for too short a time to to believe that our efforts to assimilate with other citizens would have reduces all the numerous prejudices that were once held against us. Everyone still remembers the unhappy days when the

Jews were outcasts, and there are many people who miss those days.
there. Furthermore, in Italy we have the question of the papacy, which is
a wound that is difficult to heal. The clergy cannot resign themselves to
They see the pope stripped of temporal power and they resent the world
whole. They look askance at these Jews rising to power, those who once
they trampled underfoot, while the clergy, once all-powerful, is held
far from any influence... On Friday morning, posters were found...
carded in several locations around the city and especially in the neighborhood
from the ghetto where the words 'death to the Jews' were written.

?! According to A. Milano ($Stona degli ebrei in Italia, Eimaudi, Turin, 1963), the conser
The time of Italian rabbis in matters of worship would have been much more important in
Italy as in Germany. On the other hand, an episode reported by S. Caviglia (op. cit.,
p. 65) is revealing of the capacity these religious leaders had to compromise
with their conservatism when the civic and national bond was at stake. Thus, in
In 1880, they were consulted by Rabbi S. Jona of Modena to find out if it was possible-
According to them, it is possible to vote in the political elections scheduled during the
The majority voted in favour of participating in the elections.

In connection with the events denounced, the rabbi mentions the
publication of a very violent article in the Catholic newspaper
that local, 1! dritto cattohco, which reiterates old accusations
against the Jews and the Talmud." The letter concludes with a request
intervention of the President of the Alliance with Pope Leo XIII
so that he would silence the accusations made by the Catholic press
because 'every article is a deadly blow'.

The rabbi's concern and the more general emotion surrounding it...
cited, as we shall see, by articles conveying the accusations
classic anti-Semitism can be interpreted as translated
creating a feeling of vulnerability that is confirmed by the desire to develop
by systematically providing counter-information. Thus, at several
The Parisian leaders of the Alliance are being asked to
help to refute the accusations spread by anti- publications
Semites. In the same vein, several exchanges of letters have aimed to
the purpose of translating or disseminating philo-Semitic writings. In 1884, the
Vercelli correspondent Di Pontremoli emphasizes the importance of a
such literature:

I believe we must help the very small number of non-authors
Israelites who are willing to take on our defense; their reasons
have more strength than ours, for we are always 'Cicero'
[pleading] for his own home'.

Other indicators suggest that integration is less a pro-

natural process that a fight stems from an individual strategy and
collective. Under the pen of the chief rabbi of Modena, this appeared-
rait as the counterpart to the efforts and goodwill of a
population eager for

to be loved by his benevolence towards all powers without dis-
tincture of religious belief, or by seeking to make themselves useful to
country with its lights and all possible means.

Professor Angelo Forti of Pisa," explains and claims such a
goodwill policy:

Where the laws protect us, Jews should seek to assimilate.
little by little, with the Christians, so as not to unleash secret thoughts.

2 AJU, letter of June 12, 1881 from Chief Rabbi S. Jona. |
3 AIU, letter of September 4, 1883 from member Angelo Forti.

that they feed on us. In Italy, we do precisely
Thus, participating in every collection, even if it concerns construction
of a bell tower.

An attitude that is not far removed from 'hatred of sor, attitude'
classic among Jews facing anti-Semitic and assimilationist pressures
latrices.* Thus, Angelo Forti did not conceal a declared hostility to
against the Jews of Eastern Europe 'whose beards and hair
are fashioned in the oriental style', 'often dirty and speaking half Hebrew',
and who tend to do 'razza da loro'."

Whether he advocates the disappearance of all specificity or whether he perceives
antisemitism as the result of particular behavior
The reaction of this Tuscan Jew, while sarcastic and communitarian, is in itself nothing
of the original. In Italy, as in France, up until the Dreyfus affair,
Integration is essentially perceived as a process of assimilation.
militation from which the religious sphere alone remains excluded, and even as
the path to equality without diversity'. The support given to
Catholics in circumstances where these were in opposition
with the liberal political class is explained by the desire not to
to isolate oneself within Italian society by acknowledging the domination
religious but also cultural nation of Catholicism in the peninsula
only.?? Indeed, at the end of the 19th century, other methods
The influence of the Church was added to religious practice: teachings
religious education in schools, the status of which underwent various changes,

Catholic press; associative network whose influence extends well to-
beyond the traditional fields of charity and assistance for
to establish itself in the socio-economic, recreational and cultural fields.

E. Benbassa, J.-C. Attias (eds.), Self-Hatred: Difficult Identities, Ed. Complexe, Brussels, 2000.

∗ A text by B. Lazare from 1893 develops a comparable point of view: '[The
The Jews wanted to perpetuate themselves; they were determined to remain among the nations
their own characteristic, their physiological and psychological type; it was therefore
"It is inevitable that racial inequalities persist, and they have persisted." (B. Lazare)
Jews and anti-Semites, texts collected and presented by Ph. Oriol, E. Allia, Paris, 1992.

#% M. Toscano, 'L'uguaglianza senza diversity: stato, società e questione ebraica
nell'Itale liberale' in Storia contemporanea, XXV, October 1994, pp. 685-712.

A domination that also resulted in the transformation of religious rites
Jewish and liturgical practices based on a Catholic model. On this point,
S. Levis Sullam, Una comunità immaginata. Gli ebrei a Venezia (1900-1938), Ed. Unicopli, Milan, 2001, p. 125.

On these questions, for a synthetic approach, see Mr. Ridolfi, Anteressi e pas-
Zion. Storia dei partiti politici italiani tra l'Europa e Mediterraneo, Mondadori, Milan, pp. 246-263.

It is therefore not surprising that the Jewish leaders were not the
more virulent on the subject of the Roman question, striving to...
times to temper the anticlericalism of the liberal political class, in
the context of direct opposition between Church and State. The attitude of
Samuele Alatri, one of the leading figures in the community
Roman Jew, staunch defender of her coreligionists before emancipation
cipauon, who became finance assessor in the municipal council of
The capital is exemplary in this regard. Against the majority of councilors
municipal officials, he was among those who defended the erection of a Cross at
Campo Verano, an episode which is said to have inspired Pope Pius IX to reflect
'Clearly, the most Christian of the city councilors is the Jew.'
Alatrr.”

While taking this dimension into account is essential in the im-
age that Italian Jews make of their own position in the seme of
the nation, we cannot forget the impact of the information arriving
from the outside. Thus, news of the suffering of the Jews of Europe
central and eastern, the echo of discrimination against Jews
The Balkans, and particularly those of Romania, came to remind us of the
the journey undertaken since the ghetto era while reactivating the
Memory of oppression. Integrated, in accordance with one of the objectives
the initials of the Alliance, to an international solidarity network, the

Italian correspondents participated on several occasions in actions
on the diplomatic front, mobilizing particularly, in
favor of the Jews of Romania.

The Pervasiveness of Catholic Anti-Semitism

In the perception of an internal threat, Catholic anti-Semitism
clearly appears as the major obstacle on the path to integration
tion.® The hatred of priests towards Jews is denounced to
multiple times. In 1884, the rabbi of Padua expressed outrage at the content
of the Cxilià cattohica, alarmed by the impact of the journal beyond the
immediate circle of newspaper readers:

2 Marco Alatri does not date this episode recounted on p. 14 in the booklet dac-
typographed, Cenni biografici di Samuele Alatri seritti da suo figlio Marco, January 18, 1
which was kindly given to us by Renzo Alatri.

30 On the forms of Catholic anti-Semitism and the Vatican's positions on these
questions, G. Miccoli, 'Santa Sede, questione ebraica e antisemitismo fra Otto e
Novecento' in Storia d'Italia, op. cit, pp. 1369-1574.

Radical, socialist, and clerical newspapers drew inspiration from it to spread
In our countryside, the plague of anti-Semitism, including through the means
of pamphlets and posters."

While accusations of ritual crime are literally flourishing
In Central and Eastern Europe, the Italian Catholic press is becoming
the echo of events that occurred abroad, reflecting the information
tions in a particularly pernicious form." Thus, in 1872,
a courier from Reggio Emilia is outraged that the Umaità cattolica 'a
of the most accredited newspapers' dared to assert that such a practice-
that, prescribed by the Talmud, abolished among Western Jews is
still in use among those in the East." In 1884, a correspondent
Vercelli, in turn, was moved by an article published in a newspaper.
local Catholic referring to a case of ritual homicide that occurred in
Central Europe." The accusation of mixing blood with unleavened bread makes
Its appearance again in 1890, in a newspaper from the capital.® A
the indignation aroused by the role of newspapers in spreading accusations
to the sations that seemed to come from obscure times, was added the certi-
study that these accusations were not without impact on the
many readers of the Catholic press:

If we fail to dismantle them, we will no longer be able to

walking with their heads held high, such a feeling of foresight will creep in.
among the Christians, we will always be considered in our regard.
res with suspicion.

The few letters from Alliance correspondents denouncing the anti-
The Semitism of the Catholic press only provides a partial account.

% AIU, letter of September 11, 1884 from Rabbi Alessandro Zammatto, of Padua.
In the same letter, the rabbi requests publication assistance for the research-
Dr. Treves's arguments intended to refute the accusations made against the
Jews.

∗ The proliferation of this type of case is intensifying to the point of generating the cr
the introduction of a 'false accusations' section in the Bulletin of the Universal Israeli
in the 1890s.

% ALU, letter of May 24, 1872, signed G. Lattes. The letter mentions that in
a subsequent issue, following the protest of the Editor of Educatore israelita
The editor of the Catholic newspaper in Vercelli is said to have made amends.

ALU, letter from Pontremoli dated July 6, 1884.

® The information is given by S. Momigliano in the 'Italian Chronicle' which he
book on a few occasions in L'Univers israëlite, n° 10, 1-2-1890.

% AIU, letters of August 13, 1882 and August 26, 1882 from S. Jona, President of the
The Modena Committee, reacting to articles in the Dintto Cattolico, drawing inspiration fr
Prose by Gougenot des Mousseaux on the subject of ritual homicides.

ment of a phenomenon that historians have undertaken, since some time
It took years to fully grasp the scale of the problem. The entire press
Catholic participated in the anti-Jewish polemic developed by Civiltà
cattohca. Asked to intervene in the accusations of ritual homicides,
Pope Leo XII evaded the issue, preferring silence to a statement.
clear evidence that such allegations were false."

In the aftermath of Unity, other elements could reactivate the
a memory of centuries of oppression under the yoke of the Catholic Church:
This was the case in the Teglio affair.∗

The affair begins when two Jews of modest means,
Bonaiuto Teglio and Espérance Levi had a child out of wedlock.
to a little girl whom they leave with the foundlings of Carpi, no
without having left any information regarding his identity.∗ After having
established before the courts, the child's parentage in 1875, wishing
To recover their daughter, the Teglio family encounters the priests' refusal and, in

in particular, in opposition to the President of the Congregation of Charity
of Carpi. In the meantime, the child was baptized with the name 'Henriette'
Peri. The case is brought before the courts. At the end of a trial,
Having lost in the first instance and won on appeal, the Teglio family, recover-
rent, two years after the verdict, their child, aged about twelve
years. However, the Court of Appeal's sentence sounds like
a conditional restitution: the parents commit to raising their
child in the Catholic religion, to send him regularly to the Church
and to pay a deposit guaranteeing their commitments.

During both trials, the Teglio couple and the representatives of the
The Jewish community of Modena found significant support from
of the government. Thus, the King's prosecutor at the Court
The Appeal of Modena wished to inform the Chief Rabbi that 'the gou-
'Government does not share the backward opinions of the Court'.

At the end of the appeal trial in 1877, the sentence was received in

3. You will find plenty of information on the attitude of the press
Catholic in G. Miccoli, op. cit. More particularly on the refusal of the Holy See of
To take a position, please refer to pages 1525–1544.

% AJU, several letters, in particular those of S. Jona, Chief Rabbi and President
from the Modena Alliance Committee, allow us to know the details of this
affair.

The documents make it difficult to precisely reconstruct the chrono-
logy. The girl was probably born around 1865.

AJU, letter of August 12, 1877 from S. Jona.

Jewish circles viewed it as a partial victory, fearing they had
'Won the trial but lost the case.'* Thus, according to the rabbi,

The parents possess their daughter's body but not her soul.
The child remains attached to the Catholic faith. The unfortunate Teglio
will they have to resign themselves to leaving their daughter in Catholicism, with the
peril that blindly, an instrument in the hands of those who Pont ele-
If she is corrupted, does she corrupt the beliefs of her brothers and sisters? Then 1l
It would have been better never to claim it and to leave it in the state-
Catholic institution of Carpi. There, at least, she lived in comfort.
and received a thorough education. Should they, on the contrary, try to
To bring him back to the faith of his fathers? Then a struggle is inevitable. During
The trial, the Congregation of Charity of Carpi had already made a point of
to dispel the doubt and requested that, under the terms of the law, the Court guarantee-
The young girl weaves the idea of not being violated into her conscience. However, one

It is quite possible that the clergy will not fail to spy carefully-
he will be pleased with the Teglio family's conduct towards their daughter and he will gre
the day when he can have a pretext to reclaim the prey that has
escaped. The clergy will call upon the law for help. It will be necessary to start again-
This would be a new trial, but with very different circumstances.
Because until now, we had public opinion on our side, in the
"If that were the case, we would have it against us."

With parental consent and thanks to fundraising efforts...
the local Jewish community and the assistance of the Regional Alliance Committee.
The young girl was sent to Livorno and placed with a Jewish family.
religious and enrolled in the city's Jewish school.

In 1882, the head of the Modena Committee rejoiced in the com-
the behavior of the young girl, then 17 years old, of the aflexion which
she testifies to her biological family as well as to her family
of welcome and his sincere attachment to the Jewish religion. Yet.
The battle doesn't seem to be completely won. Rabbi Jona is worried-
both a return of the young girl in a local context where 'the party
The cleric would undoubtedly want to reclaim his prey.

What does the Teglio affair reveal, and with it, the rabbi's fears?
Jona? The fear of 'losing a soul' doesn't just betray the inte-
illustration of a context of religious rivalry in which the Jews

*AIU, letter from the correspondent in Livorno dated July 24, 1878, which relates the foll
weight of the case.

AIU, letter of June 28, 1878.

® S. Jona asked the Alliance if there was a possibility of placing the young
file within the School for the Training of Teachers of the Orient. AJU, letter of the 24th
November 1882.

are in a position of weakness. It is also an indicator of memory.
still alive with cases of forced baptisms and conversions, form
of traditional and familiar oppression to Jews who had lived in the
Papal States, which were discussed in 1863 during the first
Italian Israelite Congress.' The Mortara case, in 1858, or the affair
Giuseppe Coen, even more recent, “are not so far removed. Other
On the other hand, the clearly expressed fear that the young Teglio remained faithful
to Catholicism, may become the agent of a family proselytism made
echoing the use of oblations, still very widespread in the early
decades of the 19th century: that is, the practice of converts consisting of
to offer their loved ones to the Catholic Church to guide them, whether they were
adults or not, consenting or not, to stay at the House

catechumens.*

However, the stakes of the case go beyond the religious sphere.
gious. It reveals how the Church is perceived by those in positions of responsibility
Jewish sands: as a still influential political and social force
through the relay of a 'clerical party' acting on public opinion.

In fact, given the political context of post-unification Italy, and the opposition
the situation of the Holy See and the State did not allow for the structural expression of
the militant and militant nature of a clerical party, and a fortiori the development
of formations likely to make anti-Semitism a corollary
classic of an anti-modernist and anti-enlightenment struggle,* an anti-
political Semitism nonetheless developed in a relationship
closely aligned with Catholic tradition. Blending religious grievances and accusations-
tions with more contemporary overtones, under the influence, in particular

In 1883, Professor Forti of Pisa, already cited for his virulence towards the
Eastern Jews denounced the situation of religious competition in which Jews are
victims: 'we are hated by the priests, because of their ignorance and because
that we do not frequent their shop'. AJU, letter of August 31, 1883.

T, Catalan, 'La comunità. . ”, op. “t., p. 1250.

In this second case, if the family managed to recover the child Giuseppe, he entered
to the catechumens of Rome at the age of nine, she could not prevent him from becoming
nir priest in adulthood. On the Coen case, D. Kertzer, op. ai., pp. 270-276.

M. Caffiero, 'Ebree and converted to Roma nell'Ottocento: new fonti and pro-
blemi storiografici' in Rwista storica del Lazio, estratto, n° 13-14, pp. 139-160. THE
The latest case mentioned by Mr. Caffiero dates from 1826.

'# Alfredo Rocco, one of the leading figures of Italian nationalism, admitted,
in the pamphlet "What is Nationalism?", published in 1913, the logic of exclusion
which led to nationalism-in reality, only a fraction of the movement”
wanting to differentiate itself from the power of the Church: 'Since Italy, under the mona
Absolute allied with the Church, she was oppressed and miserable; Italian nationalism is r
'absolutist, neither clerical nor anti-Semitic'.

Austrian and French currents, the clerical press, of the Crrlià
cattolica with provincial leaves -whose role in the diffu- we have seen
sion of the accusations of ritual homicides-was one of the essential agents-
"Tiels in the dissemination of this political antisemitism." To the denunciation
old part of the Jewish project to destroy the frameworks and values of
Christian societies were further haunted by the fear of a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy.
"nice" or even more populist accusations targeting the pretension-
due to the economic and financial domination of Judaism.

The Status of Political Antisemitism

While the first forms of contemporary political antisemitism had
for the essential melting pot of Catholic circles, the circulation of pre-
The negative attitudes towards Jews were not the exclusive prerogative of one group.
clerical political culture.®" To the 'inherited' forms of anti-Semitism
Catholics were joined by new manifestations of intolerance, to
liberal matrix, derived from the dual process of assimilation-exclusion
specific to the Enlightenment heritage and the dynamics of construction
nationals." Cattaneo, illustrious defender of Jewish emancipation
and a leading figure of the Risorgimento had, in a certain way,
opened the way, showing that it was possible to defend strongly
legality of rights while constructing a plea full of

*% Approximately forty newspaper and periodical titles participated in this
Controversies were recorded for the period 1881-1899. See R. Moro, 'L'attegia-
mento dei cattolici tra teologia e politica', in F. Sofia, M. Toscano, Sato nazionale. .
GE jen EPA

On this issue, unlike the clerical press, the Vatican refused
to conflate the denunciation of Freemasonry, condemned by the encyclopedia
as De secta massonum (Humanum genus) and that of Judaism. KR. From Felice, Stona degh
ebrei italian: sotto 1l fascismo, Eimaudi, Turin, 1961, pp. 33-34.

* By 'political culture' we retain the articulated definition proposed by
JF. Sirinelli: 'A political culture is a set of representations which sub-
dent a human group on a political level, that is to say a worldview
shared, a common reading of the past, a projection into the future experienced together
ble. Which leads, in the daily political struggle, to the aspiration for such
or such form of political regime and socio-economic organization, at the same time
time as well as shared norms, beliefs, and values.-On this notion,
by the same author, 'The historian and political cultures' in D. Cefaï (ed.). The cul-
poetic forms, PUF, Paris, 2001.

* The German historian G. Mosse drew attention to this in various works
aspect. See, in particular, A History of European Racism, 1978.

anti-Jewish prejudices." A few decades later, Croce, in denouncing-
attributing the persecutions suffered by the Jews to them
partial responsibility. In several writings, the philosopher of liber-
realism invited them to renounce all particularism, as in this
text from 1918 in which Jews were invited

to be situated at the level of the highest culture and the highest pen-

produced by classical-Christian-European civilization and to
to forge a historical mentality, they who were 'anti-historical' and who
had lived for centuries outside of history.”

This approach, and the prejudices it conveyed, are identifiable.
in other debates such as the one that took place in the early years
1890, the scholarly circles of the school of criminal anthropology and of
the positive school of criminal law.” While participating, in the first
online, in the fight against anti-Semitism rampant in
In Central and Eastern Europe, Ferri, like Lombroso, established the
the causes of such a scourge stem from habits inherited from history
and stigmatized by the former as 'avarice, the practice of usury,
unwavering solidarity of the clan towards non-Jews' when the second
deplored

the fidelity to rites that stand out in our time, such as the use
The very cruel and savage practice of circumcision, the stupid uses of unleavened bread
Easter, or even arrogance and exhibitionism.**

Prejudices surrounding Jews are present in the works of such diverse authors.
were not limited to the circle of intellectuals and scholars. The intoler-
France, with its liberal matrix, crystallized in 1873 in the form of a
a genuine political affair. The controversy was provoked by the opposition
position of the Venetian deputy, Francesco Pasqualigo, to the appointment of the
Jewish Isacco Pesaro Maurogonato as Minister of Finance of

53 C. Cattaneo /nterdizioni israelitiche, Einaudi, Turin, 1987. See the comment
by M. Michaelis, 'L'ebraismo italiano dallo Statuto albertino alla legislazione raz-
ziale?, in Jsrael. A decade. 1974-1984, a cura di F. del Canuto, Roma, 1984, pp.
257-958. See also: DV Segré, 'Cattaneo e la sua campagna per l'uguaglianza
dei diritti degli ebrei d'Europa', 1! Veltro XXIX, May-June 1980. |

4 Text written in 1918 in 'La storicita e la perpetuità dell'ideologie massonica';
cited by C. Vivanti, 'Storia degli ebrei in Italia e Storia d'Italia” in Sud stonii,
1990-2, p. 349. After the Second World War, Croce's position was not
hardly changed.

5 M. Toscano, 'L'uguaglianza. . ”, op. cit, pp. 695-701.

% Jbid., pp. 696-697.

Minghetti government. According to Pasqualigo, integration was insufficient
Jews within the nation did not allow access to such
representative charges:

you are not yet 'connaturati' to the Italian nation; you are,
Legally, you are citizens like any other, but in fact you are not
not Italian; when you are Italian and have ceased to be Jewish
My judgment will be different.

The protests that followed revealed that Pasquahgo was without
minority doubt. However, when Maurogonato explained, in
a letter to the King, explaining the reasons that had led him to decline the offer
from the Ministry of Finance, he mentioned his refusal to be associated with the app-
cation of the law on religious corporations of Rome. By excluding
to be able to participate in the implementation of anti-clerical laws,
Maurogonato, not without political skill, chose moderation.
on terrain that risked being particularly treacherous for the Jews
revealing, however, to what extent, at that time, emancipation was
lived under the sign of precariousness.

There was no other Pasqualigo affair in Heberian Italy. For
However, the Jews of Italy were not spared, subsequently, from certain
Certain episodes of intolerance in the political sphere. In November 1889.
The Univers 1sraëéhite reports that during the municipal and pro- elections
Vinciales, posters affixed to the walls of Florence, invited
the population not to vote for the Jews.* An initiative that would not have
encountered only the disapproval of the local press and citizens, ame-
causing its author to publicly retract, stating that he did not
wanting to attack the Israelites 'but the candidates who place their
'Personal interest above the city'. A statement that provoked this
insightful comment from the informant of the French magazine:

We usually hear retractions of this kind, every time
that the designs of our race's adversaries fail. Then, the word
The word "Jew" was no longer uttered in its proper sense but to denote-

* Quoted in S. Caviglia, op. «it., p. 60. On the case: AM Canepa, 'Emancipazione,
integration of liberal anti-Semitism in Italy. Il caso Pasqualigo', in Comunità, June
1975, pp. 166-205.

% L'Univers israélite, Journal of the conservative principles of Judaism, no. 7, December
1890; 'Courrier d'Italie', pp. 208-209. These events are recounted in a letter
by Lazare Belleli, from Livorno. See also the account of this same episode by
Rabbi S. Momigliano, who reprints the Italian chronicle in the same journal,
No. 9 of January 16, 1890 (p. 274).

To ter, in general, means something contrary to what is just and honest.

It will take time before the prejudices that weigh us down have...
completely disappeared. For the moment, they still remain under the mas-
than philological meanings.

Ten years after the incidents in Tuscany,
Similar incidents were reported in Padua, prompting a call to boycott.
the Jewish candidates this time coming from clerical and socialist circles.'
Rome experienced similar episodes of intolerance on several occasions.

In the same vein, the voluminous correspondence filed
in the Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle regarding the
ratification, in 1878, of the trade treaty between Italy and Romania
Mania contains some interesting observations.® In order to convince
Italian parliamentarians refused to ratify a treaty that admitted,
In fact, the discrimination established by Romanian commercial law
between Jews and non-Jews, the Frenchman Armand Lévy, defender of the Jews
from Romania for over a decade'! came to Italy to ren-
to counter various political figures. While he received, on the whole,
good reception from politicians and journalists contact-
tés, 11 also mentioned his meeting with the Secretary General
of Foreign Affairs, Count Tornielli-Brusati, who had
signified his refusal 'to sacrifice the interests of the Arma- to a few Jews
Genoese leaders' or even the hostility towards Jews of a divisive leader
sion at the Ministry. In the same context, the Chairman of the Committee
regional branch of the Israelite Alliance of the Marches and Umbria denounces-
the attitude of the liberal press, which was in favor of ratifying the treaty
of commerce. {!{ Dinitto, a liberal newspaper, did not hesitate to justify the
discriminations practiced in Romania by developing an argument-
a statement filled with anti-Semitic prejudices towards Oriental Jews.®

Twelve years later, an episode of antisemitism, the theater of which

5% Cited in M. Toscano, 'L'uguaglianza . . .', op. cit., p. 704. See also T. Catalan, op. cit., p. 1267.

60 AJU, letter addressed to Adolphe Crémieux and dated April 17-18, 1878.

61 Armand Lévy published in 1867 a pamphlet entitled Open Letter to Mr. Jean Bratianu. Some information on A. Levy's involvement can be found in T. Amon 'L'intervento di Luigi Luzzati in favore degli ebrei in Romania (1913-1914), in Storia contemporanea, a. XXIV, n° 4, August 1993, pp. 519-544.

62 In a clipping from Zl Diritto, dated May 19, 1978, one can read in particular, at Regarding Polish Jewish minorities in Romania: 'Polish Israelites, like
Numerous testimonies attest to this, and they are pouring into the countryside to open alcohol depots in every village, to stupefy the rural population, impoverish through usury and seize land.

This time, the island of Corfu sparked a debate once again.
on the place of Jews in the nation. In 1891, persecutions continued...
investigations into a ritual homicide case, provoked an influx of qua-
Three hundred refugees from Corfu in Brindisi, a city without a community
Jewish." The municipal council proposed offering asylum to the refugees,
expressing outrage at their plight 'in the name of civilization' and suggesting
give them land for free so they can build on it
housing.®* If the exemplary gesture of the municipal council of
Brindisi revealed the deep-rooted values of tolerance among these elected officials.
France, however, the affair nonetheless sparked a very heated controversy in
the Roman press. Opposing those who were demanding government aid
national to protect the Jews of Corfu and, in particular the
Italian Jewish nationals (about fifty people), the
director of Popolo Romano, known for his anti-Semitic statements,
denounced the mobilization of newspapers and press agencies 'to
'hands of the Jews', concluding

We need to put an end to these sensationalist news stories whose purpose is to exci-
to ter the compassion of humanity for the plight of the Jewish people, who live
“Much better than the others!”

The episodes mentioned can be interpreted in different ways depending on...
before prioritizing the inventory of acts of intolerance—declared-
political messages, election posters, press articles – or reactions
from a political environment that tended to isolate the protagonists of
such initiatives. While it is important, of course, not to exaggerate the importance-
Despite these manifestations of intolerance, which remained marginal, we do not
one could not ignore their meaning. They provide information about the presence
of a form of antisemitism that was both latent and limited, in the absence
organized political forces capable of disseminating it and because
reluctance, and often opposition, from a segment of the liberal elites
rallies that equated antisemitism with clericalism. It is difficult to [understand] them.
to define the contours due to a lack of precise investigations into the methods of interve
The number of Jews involved in the political game during this period, on the
their career paths and their relationships with politicians

This was in fact the murder of a young Jewish girl, Rubina Sarda, on April 13, 1891.
rumor suggests she is Christian, which causes unrest and violence
these were against the Jews of Corfu.

'* Press clipping from Secolo addressed to the Alliance, June 25, 1891, to solicit
his aid in favor of refugees, by Flamunio Sen, the director of Vessillo israelitico.

See the column by L. Racah, in L'Univers israélite, no. 20, 1/7/1891.

A Paradise for Jews of the Italian Religion? (sites)

non-Jews." At the beginning of the twentieth century, Angelo Sullam, a young Venetian-
üen, one of the founders of Italian Zionism, described in notes
intimate, the difficulties he encountered, due to the very fact of his appearance
attachment to Judaism, in high school as well as at university. f?" A feeling
which was corroborated, a little later, by this statement from another young Zionist

We all remember the memories of the aversion we have
met at school. Contempt and suspicion shaped our
environment. ... At the café, on the train, at the hotel, one is never
confident of escaping any contemptuous allusion.

One might object that membership in the Zionist movement of
The authors of these testimonies, by mortgaging their value, do not
reflecting the viewpoint of a minority: a minority, moreover, that is eager
to counteract the assimilation process.® Yet, nothing inter-
said to consider that, whatever the isolation of the young Italian Zionists
political ties, their membership in the global Jewish movement
created the conditions for emancipation from the discourse ass-
dominant militant with its prohibitions and lan-
hangover regarding the position of Jews in the community
Italian national. Reflecting the freedom of speech permitted in
the exchange of letters between correspondents and those in charge of
the Alliance, the positioning of the Italian Zionists made possible the
formulation of a difference and expression of a change in tone
regarding the official statements of community leaders.

In the midst of the Dreyfus affair, even as public opinion
Italian was primarily Dreyfusard, the point of view of a

'6 Thus, with regard to the French case, the work of P. Birnbaum, Les fous de
The Republic (Fayard, 1992) renewed the perspective. Focusing on the destiny of
'State Jews', having made a career in the political and administrative apparatus of the Re
It highlights paths often fraught with obstacles and a complex integration.
your times thwarted by prejudices coming from within the State.

#7 Cited in S. Levis Sullam, op. cit., p. 32. The quotation is taken from handwritten note
unpublished criticisms. Regarding antisemitism conveyed within the school setting,
Primo Levi recalled the mockery his father, born in 1878, had been subjected to.
at the Piedmontese school, 'by greeting him with the tail of their jacket clenched in thei
to imitate a donkey's ear while singing: 'Pig's ear, donkey's ear, the
Jews like that!) The Periodic Table, Albin Michel, 1987, pp. 10-11.

'8 The quoted passage is taken from R. Ascoli, 'L'antisemitismo in Italia, cause e
rimedi, Modena, L'idea siomista, 1904; cited in S. Levis Sullam, nd.

® This is the position of the historian De Felice, who refers to the 'exaggerations' por-
R. De

Felice, 'Stato, sociétà e questione ebraica nell'Italia unita' in F. Sofia, M. Toscano, op. cit, p. 424.

The French diplomat in Venice hinted at the complexity of the 'Jewish question' in the peninsula. Recognizing that the city of Doges was committed to the cause of the unjustly condemned captain. He nevertheless observed that the Jews were 'little loved and little' there considered'. An analysis that is only paradoxical in appearance, which he It is now important to analyze.

Dreyfusard Italy and anti-Semitism in the peninsula

The Dreyfus affair was not merely an episode of struggle between the defenders of Enlightenment and Republican values against the proponents of clericalism, militarism, and reaction, she was also, in France, the driving force and manifestation of an intense 'anti- moment' 'Semitic'! It therefore had significant repercussions within the Judaism, sometimes prompting some to claim an identity. Until- "There, put on hold in favor of an integrative process."

Its impact extended far beyond the borders of France and a A genuine democratic public opinion mobilized in Europe, in favor of Alfred Dreyfus." The commitment of a majority of the class Italian politics and press in favor of the Dreyfusard camp is a reality that has long been established by numerous studies historical:

no country, in a Europe almost entirely won over to the cause of the revision, was not as ardently Dreyfusard as the kingdom from beyond the mountains./*

7 Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE). New series Germany, Relachons avec la France, affaire Dreyfus, vol. 1, letter of January 15, 1998.

7 P. Birnbaum, The Anti-Semitic Moment: A Tour of France in 1898, Fayard, Paris, 1998:

7 Among the reference works concerning 'Franco-Judaism', the relations between national, republican ideology and Judaism, the relationship to Zionism: p. Simon-Nahum, The Invested City: French 'Science of Judaism' and the Republic, Cerf, Paris, 1991; M. Marrus, The Jews of France at the time of the Dreyfus affair, Calmann-Lévy Paris, 1972; C. Nicault, France and Zionism, 1897-1945: A Missed Encounter, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1992.

© M. Denis, M. Lagrée, J.-Y. Veillard (eds.), The Dreyfus Affair and Public Opinion in France and abroad, Presses universitaires de Rennes; in the same work, L. La Puma, 'The Dreyfus Affair and Italy', pp. 149-160. See also G.-C. Menichelli, 'The Reception of the Affair in Italy', in M. Drouin, The Dreyfus Affair from A to Z, Pari Flammarion, 1994, pp. 592-560. See also: p. Mülza (ed.), Dreyfus, L'Affavre and the Pangi fin de siècle nelle carte di un diplomatico italiano, Forli, Rome,

P. Milza, French and Italians at the end of the 19th century, French School of Rome, 1981, vol. 2, p. 810.

However, it is only more recently that historiography has interested in the opposing camp, which, although undoubtedly less active and militating, like that of the supporters of revision, did not address it less so to a significant segment of public opinion. Giovanni's work Miccoli highlighted with what vehemence and viru- lence, the Catholic press joined the battle, beginning- cer by l'Osservatore romano, an unofficial expression of positions of the Holy See:

articles and correspondence concerning the French situation were almost exclusively devoted to the twists and turns of the case at starting in December 1897. The main theme was pole- anti-Jewish ideology. The logical framework that supports and inspires it is fueled by of all the prejudices and stereotypes of a centuries-old tradition.

The Catholic press was not to be outdone. The Jesuit journal La ciultà cattohica, accustomed to virulent anti-Judaism, took the pretext of the case to launch a veritable crusade against the Jews: denounce- revealing the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy, advocating a clear separation Jews and Christians to prevent the former from leading to "Well, their plan for world domination." The telegrams sent Italy's involvement in the affair sheds some light on the camp anti-Dreyfusard: Thus, the newspaper Popolo Romano takes exception to the agitation tion triggered by the agents of the 'union' over a matter that does not concerns only France.'°

However, while the affair was indeed, for the proponents of clericalism, a In her fight against the Judeo-Masonic International, she was only very Incidentally, in Italy, a battle against anti-Semitism in the Dreyfusard camp. It is possible to get an idea of the nature of the mobilization of Italian public opinion through telegrams my envoys to the French consulates in Italy. This documentation shows that in Italy, as in France, it all started with 'J'accuse' Zola's observation that the affair takes on a political dimension and sparks a

5 On the positions of La civiltà cattolica, see La Puma, op. at.

6 MAE, NS Germany, Relations with France, Dreyfus affair, telegram of 17/01/1898. More explicit but emanating from an Austrian Trieste and particularly- Relatively sensitive to ideological influences from that country, a telegram addressed to La libre parole and to Drumont: 'Anti-Semites of Trieste encourage you to continue- "For the fight against Jewish Freemasonry and against Zola": MAE, NS, Germany, Relations with France, the Dreyfus Affair, telegram of February 2, 1898. On the situation of the Jews of Trieste, T. Catalan, La Comunità ebraica di Trieste (1781-1914), Pohhca, soctetà e cultura, Lint, Trieste, 2000.

mass protest. The telegrams are from representatives of the whole of Italian civil society through its multiple associations: workers' associations, social circles, students of most Italian universities, professional associations."

Clearly, those who are mobilizing share the values of truth and justice, which united the Dreyfusard camp in France. The sym- The quintessential example of the Dreyfusard struggle is that of the truth. so much from the well. Yet there is also an identity component national in the mobilization taking place in the peninsula which It initially presents itself as a fight in defense of Zola. Thus, On January 19th, students from the University of Catania expressed to the writer of their 'enthusiasm for your genius that France ungrateful, disowns"; the same day, the director of a Neapolitan newspaper addressed to Zola, which can be considered a form of leitmotif. The motive behind the telegrams of solidarity: 'The French accuse you of being Italians, accept this title and be proud of it. * To exaggerate, one can detect an almost nationalist dimension in the mobilization of the Italians, which is corroborated by the emergence of anti-French sentiment repeatedly reported by French consuls and diplomats stationed there.

What is the place of denouncing antisemitism in the battle fought in Italy? She is absent from most of the telegrams. my solidarity, the address of the republican intellectual Napoleone Colajanni to Zola constituting a real exception:

Against you, great artist, and against the noble conscience of France, will come to shatter the last vestiges of barbarity gathered in the anti- Semitism and militarism."

The absence of any reference to antisemitism in the telegrams of solidarity does not allow us to conclude that the fight against prejudice

7 To cite some of the authors of the telegrams of solidarity to Zola: the

engineering students from Turin, lawyers from Naples, the association of the periodical pr
Rome, the 'Fatherland and Progress' circle of Ravenna, the Business School of
Venice, the Florence railway controllers, etc. MAE. NS Germany,
Relations with France, the Dreyfus affair.

7 MAE. NS Germany, Relations with France, Dreyfus Affair, vol. 1, telegrams
January 19, 1998.

7” The telegram continues 'In this hope, many students of the University
from Naples, strangers to personal and national struggles, and enthusiastic only-
through your work of demanding justice, they will send you
their greetings'. Translated telegram, sent from Naples on January 17, 1898 and
Signed Colajanni in MAE, New Series (NS) Germany, Relations with France, case
Dreyfus, vol. 1, letter of January 15, 1998.

Anti-Jewish sentiment is not one driving force among others, in a way
implicit, of the Dreyfusard struggle, as was often the case in
France. Nevertheless, the scenario of the mobilizations remains.
political figures involved in the affair, in the peninsula, brought two
camps: one, a political minority but very culturally influential-
one side was motivated by a bias and overt antisemitism; the other mobilized around values
of justice, democracy and progress, for which the struggle against
Anti-Semitism was not a priority battle.

With the new century, the gradual relaxation of relations between
Church and State, the decline of anticlericalism in government shares
Under the government, political anti-Semitism with a Catholic basis did not disappear.
not expressing himself, however, in a less explicit manner.

The emergence of Zionism revived the debates that had arisen, at
multiple times, regarding the place of Jews in the nation. Thus,
in the aftermath of Theodor Herzl's trip to Italy and his re-
against King Victor Emmanuel II, the Minister of Foreign Affairs
Gestions expressed his reservations about the request for support for the creation
of a 'Jewish homeland' in Palestine. The argument reiterated the doctrine
official:

You are certainly aware that not only according to our law
public, but also according to the idea that alone dominates among us, neither the
Neither the sovereign nor his government could contemplate the existence
of Jewish nationality. Italian Jews belong, like their
compatriots of any other religion, with Italian nationality and they
They differ from them only in the religion they profess.

If the policy of the Italian leadership had not changed since Unification,
the emergence of Zionism, still a very small minority at the beginning of the century,

was going to spark intense discussion among Jewish intellectuals.
Among those who rejected Zionism in the name of patriotism, those
who saw it essentially as a form of philanthropy and a surge of
solidarity with the persecuted Jews in Europe and those who defend
they said a more political conception of the movement, there were a thousand
and a nuance of sensitivity. However, the debate was also an opportunity
new professions of faith 'of Italianness' whose content could
to give rise to the suspicion that integration was still experienced by certain

80 Letter from Tittoni to T. Herzl of March 16, 1904 cited in M. Toscano 'Ebraismo, Zionismo, society. . ., op. cit, p. 410.

taints in a mode of precariousness. Thus, in January 1901, editorial
of the Zionist Idea explained

Zionism does not aim to give us a homeland because we already have one.
so beautiful and so noble; he also has no political or religious aims-
his; it therefore cannot be judged as a challenge of race or religion,
nor as a danger to Christian societies today.®

Despite the numerous precautions taken by the early activists of the movement-
Jewish movement and its very limited development in the peninsula, Zionism
gave rise to new anti-Jewish controversies. It fueled, more
that it did not provoke, controversies and accusations finding, among the nationalists
early 20th-century nationalists became new heralds without the anti-Semitic
ism did not become a central component of their political doctrine.
The Libyan war showed that there was no need for a party m of
a movement labeled 'anti-Semitic' so that the press would seize upon it
an ideology whose matrix was already firmly established. An event-
ment of this nature is sufficient to aggregate into a veritable accusatory system
"Today's prejudices inherited from different political backgrounds and cultures."

Quoted in M. Toscano, op. cit. supra, p. 416.

∗ Regarding the positions of Italian nationalism on antisemitism: R De
Felice, Stonia...op. «it., pp. 43-45. M. Toscano, in 'L'uguaglianza. . ”, op. cit: I
I allow myself to refer to the text I published 'Between Prezzolini and Gramsci.
'Italian Readings of the Dreyfus Affair', in The Aftermath of the Dreyfus Affair, M. Leyma
(ed.), Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1998, pp. 103-114.

ANTISEMITISM OR ANTIMODERNISM? ANATOLE LEROY-BEAULIEU, BERNARD LAZARE, LÉON BLOY

Antoine Compagnon

The explanation of antisemitism as an archaism, or as sub-
resistance of the old regime destined to be swept away by progress
modern, was a misconception from the late 19th and early 20th centuries
20th century in France, during and despite the rise of anti-Semitism
politics. This misconception has been costly, as Hannah Arendt Pa
shown, because it made the Jews of France all the more vulnerable
vulnerable to modern anti-Semitism, which they saw as the survival of
old anti-Jewish sentiment. That is why it is important to return to it, in
its complexity and contradictions, through the examination of some
French texts from the turn of the century, just prior to the trigger-
The Dreyfus affair.

A reflection by Renan towards the end of his life is characteristic
of the common assimilation of anti-Semitism, by its opponents, to
an anti-modernism:

Every Jew is a liberal. [...] The enemies of Judaism, on the contrary,
Look closely, you'll see that these are generally the enemies of
the modern spirit.'

Certainly, some of Renan's texts, such as his History of Israel, are sometimes
deemed responsible for French anti-Semitism at the end of the 19th century
key. The beginning of the History of the People of Israel (1887): 'T...] the language
[is| for a race the very form of thought' should allow
to Léon Daudet, a fierce anti-Semite, to argue that 'Drumont
had only continued, in modern and contemporary times
rains, the History of the People of Israel' A more explicit statement of

Renan, 'Original Identity and Gradual Separation of Judaism and Christianity-
ism" (1883), Complete Works, ed. Henriette Psichari, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 10 vol.
1947-1961, v L, p. 922:

Renan, History of the People of Israel, C. Lévy, Paris, 1887, vol. 1; Complete Works, ed.
cited VI p.52

3 L. Daudet, Ghosts and the Living, Paris, Nouvelle Librairie nationale, 1914; Memories
and polemics, Laffont, Paris, 'Bouquins', 1992, p. 96.

Renan, an old but undisputed statement, on the 'General Character of
'Semitic peoples and languages' appeared in the first chapter of
History of the Semitic Languages (1855):

I am therefore the first to recognize that the Semitic race, compa-
related to the Indo-European race, it actually represents a combination
inferior aspect of human nature.

Or Renan was also the author, at the beginning of the ITT Republic, of articles
keys which, thanks to his undisputed authority as a liberal philologist, should
to serve the cause of anti-anti-Semitism, that is to say, the fight against anti-
rising Semitism following Drumont's La France juwe (1886).
Thus Renan proposed to identify the enemies of Judaism and those
of the modern spirit, that is to say of science, secularism, and the
Republic.

This assimilation became common in the 1880s and 1890s
from the anti-anti-Semites—a non-equivalent and pre- expression
worthy, we shall see why, of that of philosemites—, that they were
from the left or the right, like Bernard Lazare, close to the symbo-
lism, socialism and anarchism, or on the other side Ferdinand
Brunetière, an opponent of science, materialism, and individualism
Dualism, and defender of morality, religion, and country. He-
he denounced in the Revue des Deux Mondes, which he directed, France
Jewish:

Blinded by his hatred of the Jews, which he tries in vain to suppress-
To bury fine names, Mr. Drumont, dissatisfied with his century, has made his presence felt
placing sole responsibility on the Jews for a state of affairs for which they are well awa
They could have benefited, but they did nothing to bring it about. And they would have

as well-made as I would still believe. To be unfair in reproducing it to them-
singing, since they would only have worked with us.'

Brunetière conceded to Drumont that one could feel 'discontented'
of his century', that is to say of the modern spirit', but thought that ren-
to hold the Jews responsible for the current state, political, religious and ecological
nomic, stemmed from an illusion. Against Drumont, Brunetière associated,

Renan, General History and Comparative System of Semitic Languages, Imperial Printing Offi
riale, Paris, 1855; Complete Works, ed. cited, vol. VIII, pp. 145-146. On the confusion
between 'linguistic race' and 'anthropological race' in Renan, and on the hierarchy
races, see Maurice Olender, The Languages of Paradise. Aryans and Semites: a pro- couple
videntel, Gallimard-Éd. du Seuil, coll. 'Hautes Études', Paris, 1989, pp. 75-111;
reissue, Ed. du Seuil, coll. 'Points', Paris, 1994.

∗ F. Brunetière, 'Jewish France', Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1, 1886, p. 694.

like Renan, anti-Semitism and anti-modernism: one would have been anti-
Semitic out of hatred or irrational fear of modernism, as a reaction
against the contemporary world. Brunetière did not rule out the possibility that there was
decadence, that modernity deserved that name, but he did not judge it
Jews are not more guilty than non-Jews.

The argument is the same in Lazare in 1894, in L'Antisémi-
hisme, his history and its causes: If the Jew was able to take part in the trial
and to the revolutionary movement', to 'the ideological march of
the revolution' and more often than not, he is not for
as much 'a disruptive element in modern societies', a
'agent of disorder: order and harmony being represented by the
Christian monarchy'.® While acknowledging the role of Jews in
In modern history, Lazarus also seeks to limit it in order to ref-
to end antisemitism:

Did the Jew participate in this blossoming of the modern spirit? Certainly, yes;
but he is neither its creator nor its manager [...]; delete
Now, neither Jewry, Catholicism, nor Protestantism will be included.
less decrepit.

On the eve of the Dreyfus affair, this was a commonplace of the struggle
against anti-Semitism, including Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, professor at
The Catholic and Héréal Institute of Political Science then isolated three
Constituent elements: "° traditional Christian anti-Judaism; anti-
Popular and socialist socialism; finally, racism based on the new-
the anthropological and philological sciences. Lazarus identified these
elements—religious, economic and ethnic grievances, such as: 1l dis-
had—to the three major historical 'varieties' of antisemitism. If a
He judged that the anti-Semitic text 'frequently presents multiple tendencies'.
A 'dominant' trait can generally be observed."

6 B. Lazare, Anti-Semitism, its history and its causes, L. Chailley, Paris, 1894; Paris,
Crès, 2 vols., 1934, v. IT, p. 191.

7 Hdi, p'o181.

'ide poulo5:

Shi ND, 205;

In 1981, Leroy-Beaulieu published a series of articles on 'The Jews and Anti-Semitism'
in the Revue des Deux Mondes in 1891-1893, reprinted in Israel Among the Nations. The
Jews and Anti-Semitism, C. Lévy, Paris, 1893 (reprint, ed. Roger Errera, preface by

René Rémond, Calmann-Lévy, Paris, coll. 'Diaspora', 1983). In a conference delivered in February 1897 at the Catholic Institute of Paris, Anthropology, C. Lévy, Paris, 1897, he more clearly distinguishes the three ingredients of anti-Semitism modern.

I. Anti-Semitism, its history and its causes, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 53 and 74.

Were all three of these elements of anti-Semitism becoming archaic? questions at the end of the 19th century? Lazare thought so, and this diagnosis- This led to a rather optimistic conclusion in his book. 1894, where he finally observed the weakening of all the causes its antisemitic causes—Jewish causes, because the Jews were assimilating, and non-Jewish causes, religious, national or economic? because pre- religious conventions, national particularisms, and capitalist egoisms had all entered into decadence in the modern world: 'anti- 'mitism will perish', those were his last words.

especially because it is one of the persistent and last manifestations of the old spirit of reaction and narrow conservatism which tries in vain- how to stop the revolutionary evolution."

Or was it an illusion on the part of the liberal opponents or even socialists of anti-Semitism than to take it for an an- Chronicle and a survival? Leroy-Beaulieu himself saw in the fusion of several historical strata in anti-Semitism the rai- its undifferentiated appeal in contemporary times: 'There are all of this within the context of antisemitism, both old and new, from the Modern Age archaic and chimerical socialism, reactionary instincts and revolutionary passions'; that is why it 'finds an echo in such diverse environments, sensitive to one or another of its ingredients.

Where did the premise associating Jews and modernity come from? commonly accepted by anti-Semites and anti-anti-Semites, immediately- conceivable in order to consider antisemitism as anti-modern, and for to judge, with optimism or pessimism, its future?

For example, it was strongly emphasized in 1880 by James Darmesteter, a disciple of Renan and professor of Persian at Collège de France, in its "A Look at the History of the Jewish People," a short work that inspired Renan's liberal texts on Judaism from the 1880s, and which all the authors mentioned so far have read with care. To explain the Jews' easy adaptation to the NIK' century and their success in the contemporary world, Darmesteter, foreshadowing Max Weber's thesis on the affinities of the Protestant-

OM 279.

15 Jbid., pp. 286–287.

Israel among the nations, op. cit., p. vi.

J. Darmesteter, A Glimpse into the History of the Jewish People, Librairie nouvelle, Paris 1880; reprinted in The Prophets of Israel, C. Lévy, Paris, 1892 (reprint, preface by Salomon Reinach, Rieder, Paris, 1931).

usmism and capitalism, insisted on the analogy between the original principles
ginels of Judaism and the modern ideology of science and pro-
sandstone. Brunetière, Leroy-Beaulieu, Lazare had to refer to him for
affirm the similarity existing between the objectives of the modern world
and the traditional and 'carnal' ideal of the Jews, 'as opposed to the ideal
"Mysticism of Christianity"?

Darmesteter saw Judaism as a catalyst for the modern spirit
under the old regime, that is to say, of irreligion and rationalism:
according to his most famous phrase, quoted by all our authors, the Jew

He is the doctor of the unbeliever; all the rebels come to him, in the om-
indoors or outdoors. He is at work in the immense blas- workshop

'pheme of the great emperor Frederick and the princes of Swabia or
d'Aragon: it is he who forges this entire murderous arsenal of reason-
the ment and irony that he would bequeath to the skeptics of the Renaissance, to
bertines of the grand siècle, and such sarcasm from Voltaire is only the last-
to deny and resounding echo of a word whispered six centuries ago,
in the shadow of the Ghetto, and even earlier, in the time of Celsus and
of Origen, at the very cradle of the Christian religion.'°?

Lazare drew from this phrase an entire chapter on 'The revolutionary spirit-
'born in Judaism' in his 1894 book. Proof by absurdity
of Darmester's equation between Judaism and modernity, the correlation-
The link was evident between the 'mass proscription' of the Jews and the
beginning of Tagonia' in Spain.

In accordance with his Garlic Blow, Darmesteter was in the years
1880 a promoter of 'Franco-Judaism' as a synthesis of values
of Judaism—or 'prophetism', as he called Judaism
without the cult, that of the prophets as opposed to the Talmud"—and
Human and civil rights, liberty and equality.
The Revolution, declared Darmesteter,

brings to an end the material history of the Jewish people, opens a new era and strange in the history of his thought. For the first time, this thought finds itself in agreement, and no longer in conflict, with consciousness of humanity."°

16 Brunetière, 'Jewish France', art. at., p. 697. ”

17 Jbid., p. 700. Darmesteter judged that 'Judaism, alone of all religions, has never been and can never enter into conflict with either science or pro- social sands and [...] has seen and sees without fear all their conquests” (The Prophets (from Israel, op. cit., p. 195).

18 The Prophets of Israel, op. cit, pp. 185 186.

Mes. 295,

bo

Judaism, which has

always been at war with the dominant religion [...] has finally arrived in the presence of a state of mind that he does not have to fight, because he "It recognizes its instincts and traditions."

With the Revolution, a vast, centuries-old movement of thought

leads, in the speculative order, to the scientific conception of the world [...], and in practical terms, to the notion of justice and progress.”

Judaism, alone among all religions, does not have to suffer from the mou- movement of ideas, because the two great dogmas that constitute it since the prophets,

Divine unity and Messianism, that is to say, unity of the law in the world and the earthly triumph of justice in humanity,”

are the very ones who

at present time, they illuminate humanity on the march, in the order of the science and in the social order, and which are called, in modern language,

One of the forces, the other a belief in progress.®*

Science and social progress have long been called from its
wishes by the Jew who, 'in the axioms of his free reason and in the
'cry of his suffering heart', finds 'the feeling of great unity'
and a concern for charity and justice', two translations of the same
Hebrew word.

In France, since the Revolution, as a providential and unified event...
Versel, a society is built that reflects the very ideal of Judaism,
'its instincts and traditions', and in which the Jewish people disappeared-
will gradually disappear, which Darmesteter envisioned without state
of the soul, because

when the people who made the Bible were to vanish, race and cult, without
to leave a visible trace of its passage on earth, its footprint would be
deep in the hearts of generations who will know nothing of it, perhaps
to be, but who will live by what he has put in them?

2 Jhid., pp. 192-193.
® Ibid, p. 193.

Ibud., pp. 176 and 194.
% Jbid., pp. 194-195.
% Jhid, p. 193.

3 Jhid, p. 197.

Lazarus, equally resistant to the religion of the priestly code and to
Talmudism was also expected to be favorable to assimilation.
final:

If the Jewish religion, he wrote in 1892, this crumbling religion,
decomposes and deteriorates, eventually disappearing with external practices
who want to preserve it even today, in a hundred years, the element
A Jew would be so incorporated into the surrounding elements that one cannot
would no more recognize the Israelite than one recognizes the existing Visigoth-
so much in some French people.?'

He repeated this theme in his 1894 book:

- A time will come when [the Jews] will be completely eliminated, when they

will be dissolved within the peoples [...]. In those times also anti-
Mitism will have run its course, but the moment is not near?

Darmesteter, like Joseph Salvador, in whose home he discovered after
"He saw a profound analogy between the Ancient
Testament and the philosophy of the 18th century. Following his formula the
more striking: 'Moses is indeed a conventionalist speaking from the summit
of the Mountain'.* Or again: '[...] the language of Jerusalem is
that of the modern world itself.*" Thus he summarized the convergence
of the Bible and the Revolution. But, even if he hadn't hesitated
to make the Jew 'the doctor of the unbeliever' under the old regime, he evokes-
he viewed with reserve and caution the historical action of Judaism in
the Revolution. And above all, he insisted, the Jews were not at all dreaming
to seize power now that their ideals were identified with
those of the century:

[...] in all the countries that have embarked on this new path, the
Jews took their share, and not a small one, [...], in all the great

27 “Jewish Solidarity”, Political and Literary Conversations, October 1, 1890; Fwfs and ar
Semites, Allia, Paris, 1992, p. 19.

2% Anthropism, its history and its causes, op. cit., p. 279.

% ['historian Joseph Salvador (1796-1873), of a Jewish father and a Catholic mother,
had preceded Darmesteter in the modern interpretation of the biblical spirit, and
announced the synthesis of Judaism and Christianity in a third era inau-
shaped by the French Revolution. This was notably the lesson of his latest work,
Paris, Rome, Jerusalem, or the religious question in the 19th century, M. Lévy, Paris, 186
Darmesteter devotes the last chapter of his Prophets of Israel, op. cit, pp. to him.
279-386.

30 The Prophets of Israel, op. cit., p. 355.

OI, Dr006.

works of civilization, in the threefold field of science, art
and action.”

But he was careful to add: 'Does this mean that Judaism has to
to nurture dreams of ambition, and must one day consider achieving this
"The invisible church of the future" that some are calling for?
That would be the delusion of a sectarian or a fanatic. Indeed, a Jewish spirit
can still act in the world for supreme science and pro-

endless sandstone, and [...] the role of the Bible is not finished', but this
It is the Jewish spirit and the Bible that still have a future, and no longer the
Judaism or the Jewish people as such, because the time of Passi-
mass militia has arrived.

Following Darmesteter, an anti-anti-Semite like Brunetière
He could therefore, in order to counter Drumont, stick to the idea of a 'ren-
against 'between Jewish tradition and modern materialism,' and denounce
the causal relationship that Drumont saw between Judaism and modernism
nism and which led him to blame the Jews for decadence
modern:

[...] 1. There is a coincidence, but not a correlation, and that is Mr. Darmesteter
who is right. The world is becoming Jewish, since it is in
becoming optimistic, and the Jews find themselves there just in time to
take advantage of a situation they haven't prepared for. I'm not saying they
If they have not helped, let them not help every day: when the
The world comes to them, they would also be too clumsy or too disdainful
They were reluctant not to go out into the world. But they wouldn't stir the
"I believe things would go exactly the same way."

For Brunetière as for Darmesteter, the successes of the Jews in
The modern world is the result of a confluence of circumstances: the
Judaism has always been progressive and constituted the vanguard of the
civilization, but—a new development in history—it now finds itself
but in line with the republican ideology with a universal vocation
France's saddle. The risk is understandable. Even if Darmesteter put
warns against the fantasy of a Jewish conspiracy ruining the country, for
For an Anüsemite like Drumont, the step is quickly taken, and the new
The objective alliance of the Jews and the century turns into a conspiracy against
Christianity allows the Revolution and its aftermath to be attributed to
Jewish influence.

FD mp. A0:
% “Jewish France’, art. cit, pp. 701-702.

Lazare, less astute than Darmesteter and Brunetière, resolved to
in return, it is difficult to minimize, even for their own good, the participation
Passion of Jews for modern history:

The Jew is not [...] the driving force of history, the propeller by which
we are moving towards a renovation; however, those who, out of caution,
They show it to us as being of no importance whatsoever, and those who
going even further, assert the conservatism of the Jew, commit

an error as serious as that of the anti-Semites.

He feared that anti-anti-Semitism, as a precaution, might join Panti-
Semitism, and he claimed the 'revolutionary role of the Jews,' defended-
their actions in the revolutions of 1789, 1830, 1848 for the
liberalism, then socialism." To the objection that the Jewish revolutionary-
The revolutionary was an atheist and no longer Jewish, Lazarus replied: '[...] the
A Jew takes part in the revolution, and he takes part in it as a Jew.
that is to say, while remaining Jewish," such as Heine or Marx. But, we have
He said, however, that he too resigned himself, in conclusion, to a more nuanced approach.
the modernity of Judaism:

Did the Jew participate in this blossoming of the modern spirit? Certainly, yes;
but he is neither its creator nor its manager [...]; delete
Now, the Jew, Catholicism, or Protestantism will not be included.
less decrepit.∗

Brunetière said nothing different. It's an illusion, a 'conception'
exaggerated' of their historical role which in fact

the representatives of the revolutionary spirit versus the conservative spirit
vantor, of transformation in the face of tradition, and which, in this
transitional age, makes them responsible for the fall of the old organa-
nisations and the discrediting of old principles."

However, Lazarus added: 'In the eyes of conservatives, nothing [...]
is no less significant than the situation of the Jew in the communities
'moderns'. Lazarus's unease is evident: for him, the Jews are
Well, modern people; to proclaim it is to give them something to grind.

Anti-Semitism, its history and its causes, op. cit., vol. II, p. 184.
Si Jhid. p. 187.
% Jhid., p. 201.
#7 Ibid, p. 208.
Ibid, p. 223.
MD D. 226.
Oinp 225.

to the anti-Semites; but to deny it, even with the best intentions of
world, that is to become anti-Semitic.

The relationship between modern anti-Semitism and anti-modernism

were analyzed at length by Leroy-Beaulieu in /Israel among the
nations in 1893, with the usual moderation of the Catholic historian-
that liberal and a great deal of circumspection. Beyond 'prejudices'
archaic!" of popular anti-Semitism, whether Christian or anti-
capitalist, whether he believed in ritual murder or attacked the
Rothschild, Leroy-Beaulieu identified a new anti-Semitism among the 'classes-
his enlightened ones", accusing the Jews of being the enemies of 'what they call-
slow "Christian civilization". From the point of view of the elites, continued
Leroy-Beaulieu, the 'progressive' Jews were becoming more dangerous than
the 'Talmudic' Jews, because they participated in the 'de-Christianization' of
Europe and contemporary societies. One couldn't have said it better.
that the new anti-Semitism stemmed from the assimilation of Jews:

Viewed in this way, Judaism is an agent of decay, to the point
from a moral and religious point of view, as well as from an economic point of view, or
from a national point of view.

According to Leroy-Beaulieu, the 'enlightened classes', that is, the Catholic bourgeoisie
lique—its public—, were therefore those that identified Judaism and
modernism, an equation that, while recognizing in a certain
measure and up to a certain point of its validity, it was also employed to
to present as a confusion or an illusion in order to divert the-
they call them 'enlightened classes' of anti-Semitism.

First, following a line of reasoning that Leroy-Beaulieu was to reproduce-
At the time of the Separation, the Jews were in fact the victims
my indirect consequences of anticlericalism; modern anti-Semitism resulted
of anticlericalism, because intolerance begged for intolerance, and the
Catholics turned the hatred they felt for the Jews back against them.
the anticlericals. On the other hand, the solidarity of the Catholics and the
Jews united around religion could have together thwarted the anti-
Clericalism and anti-Semitism.

However, to present Fantisémitisme as a perverse effect
of anticlericalism and to oppose them with a common front of Catholics-
Leroy-Baulieu had to refuse Jews a pre-

∗ Israel among the nations, op. cit., p. 50.
has

sea role in the evolution of the modern world, particularly towards
anticlericalism:

[...] isn't that exaggerating Israel's importance and attributing to the Jew a

outrageous empire to see in him the instigator and as the provocateur of
the spirit of the age? [...] To blame, on Jewry and Judaism, the upheaval-
element of certain moral, religious, social, and political notions,
Doesn't this disregard the history and genesis of ideas?
modern?

Israel would in fact have served, as in Brunetière's work, as a 'scapegoat'
"saire" for the modern sins of Christian peoples themselves.

More reserved than Darmesteter, who limited the historical role of
Jews under the old regime, and Lazarus, who extended it until the revolutions
Leroy-Beaulieu doubted that the Jews had ever contributed to
The story: Voltaire and Diderot would be surprised if they were told
that they had been 'the unwitting precursors or agents of the Jews';
Moreover, the Jews were still in the ghetto at that time. But the Jews themselves-
they sometimes even claim historical responsibility:

This emancipated son of Jacob did not hesitate to show us, in his
sordid ancestors of the Judengasse, the distant pioneers of the Revolution
and the secret instruments of the liberation of the human spirit.

It is again Darmesteter that Leroy-Beaulieu is thinking of, who quotes long-
guement the Garlic Blow on the Jew as 'doctor of the unbeliever', before
to proclaim: 'The Jew boasts',* but not without conceding that, when
Indeed, '[t]he Jew was the true Protestant; he was the intransigent one who
'He who resists dogma and tradition does not compromise.'®
Leroy-Beaulieu, therefore, also hesitates on the contribution to the spirit
modern, neither too much nor too little, to be recognized by the Jews in order to appease
the anti-Semites without offending the Jews. [He doesn't count many of
Jews among the founders of modern science: history, philosophy
philosophy, physics, chemistry, physiology, or this newcomer with the name
pedantic, sociology'; neither are modern systems
Not Jewish: positivism, evolutionism, determinism, pessimism (without
a word on Marxism). Following an argument already seen in Brunetière
and Lazarus, but taken a step further: 'Israel would have perished entirely

He ppA56©07.
ind, p. 58:
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on the quemaderos of Castile, which his disappearance would not have delayed, of
One hundred years, the advent of modern society.' For the seed of
Modern ideas are rooted in classical civilization: 'What made the world
modern, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Revolution, it is neither the

"Jewish spirit." The spirit of analysis, of scientific examination comes
of the Greeks. If there was, strictly speaking, a Jewish influence on the
The Renaissance, it no longer existed on the eve of the Revolution. And
Yet the 18th century has for anti-Semites 'like a wave
the smell of what they call 'Jewish spirit', for example in the work
by Émile Faguet on the 18th century (1890), marked by hatred of
this century for its anti-French and anti-Christian side, for its spirit
of negation. Leroy-Beaulieu quotes Darmesteter again: 'That, in
the transports of his lyrical enthusiasm, the grateful Jew equal,
with MJ Darmesteter, the revolutionary Mountain at Horeb'; that he
admire in 'Moses a conventional man speaking from the summit of the mountain-
tagne'"; that he decrees that 'revelation spoke the same language on
the Sinai ridge and in the salons of the 18th century", I don't know
'scandalous point'. He does not approve, however: 'He is free to recon-
to be born in the Revolution the fulfillment of the ancient prophecies
ties of Israel." For if he can admit that 'the Creed of the new world
would only be the Creed of the old Hebrew world', it is not the
made of the 'modern Jew'; if the 'idea of social justice' is an idea
"If the Bible can even be considered the 'primary source'"
From 1789 onwards, their influence did not pass through the Jew of the Middle Ages
or of the old regime, but through books that have become the 'patri-
monk of Christian peoples'. Thus English and American liberties-
They owe everything to the Bible, but nothing to the Jews: Jurieu, master
Rousseau undoubtedly adopted the principle of sovereignty from
people in the Bible, but at a time when the Jews themselves were
bound by the Talmud.

Semites and anti-Semites are therefore 'almost equally inclined to
to magnify Israel." But the historian, who would like to refute them together-
ble ct aspires to a median position, risking both appearing to be
anti-Semitic in the eyes of Jews and 'Jewish' in the eyes of anti-

ha p. 61:
ren. 62:
1 Jbid., p. 64.
bid., p. 66.
is p'a69;

mites. Addressing anti-Semites to convert them, his anti-anti-
Semitism sometimes borders on ordinary anti-Semitism and is reproduced by
example the cliché of imitative Jews: without Descartes, no Spinoza;
Without Voltaire, there would be no Mendelssohn; without Plato, no Philo; without Aristotl
No Maimonides. 'Far from leaving the Synagogue, modern ideas-
"They had difficulty slipping in!" because the secular sciences are sus-
pectes in a world 'abandoning itself to the follies of Hasidism, se
Fascinating, for or against false messiahs?

The fight against modern antisemitism, insofar as it presupposes
to refute or mitigate the analogy between Judaism and modernism,
inevitably falls back into old anti-Semitism towards
The East: 'Who doesn't know the great contemporary Jewish quarters where
The sons of Judah, gathered by the thousands, live in tribes, more judaico,
"Doesn't know the Jew." And in Central and Eastern Europe:

Is it the Polish Jew, the Russian Jew, or the Romanian Jew who seems to you-
A craftsman of novelties? [...] The poor fellow! He is, for that reason,
Too lowly, he is too poor, he is too ignorant [...] There is perhaps no
to be nothing in the world more stubbornly conservative than the Tal- Jew
musical."*

Such a passage differs little, in truth, from Lazarus' virulent diatribe,
in 1890, against the Universal Israelite Alliance:

What do I, a French Jew, care about Russian usurers, caba-
Galician pawnbrokers, horse traders, polo-
Born, Prague dealers and Frankfurt money changers? In
By virtue of what supposed fraternity would I concern myself with the measures?
res taken by the Tsar towards subjects who appear to him to be fulfilling a
Harmful work? [...] What do I have in common with these descendants of
Huns? [...] What, moreover, do we see such an association leading to?
tion? To welcome despicable people into our homes, to help them, to
to encourage them, to plant them on soil that is not their own and that does not
It should not feed them, but rather facilitate their conquest. Who does it serve?
To the cosmopolitan Jew who has no ties to any nation, no affection
for none, who is the Bedouin carrying his tent with a
complete indifference."

51 Jhid., p. 70.

5 Jhid, p. 71.

5 Jhid, p. 72.

% Jhid., p. 72. | |

5 'Jewish Solidarity', Political and Literary Conversations, October 1, 1890; Jews and ant
Semites, op. cit, pp. 17-18.

And Lazarus was to quote Leroy-'s tirade again with approval.
Beaulieu on the conservatism of Eastern European Jews in 1894.
Leroy-Beaulieu therefore clearly makes the new anti-Semitism a

Reaction to modern assimilation: 'Where the Jew has remained Jewish, neither the
Neither governments nor Christian society have anything to fear from Israel.
It is the de-Judaization that is dangerous; it is the emancipated Jews
which represent seeds of negation and destruction in the
society; these are secularized Israelites, products of modern civilization,
who are infected and contagious—contagious because they are infected. The anti-
Mites are concerned about the influence of Jews on modern societies,
but they fail to observe the influence of modern societies on the
Judaism. But 'Israel [...] is endangered by the civilization that...
'emancipated'.* It is an optical illusion that leads one to believe that society
Christianity will have been the principal enemy of Israel, because irreligion is
in fact, even more threatening to the Jew than to the Christian.
'Paganization of our societies' affects Jews and Christians equally.
De-Christianized Christians and de-Judaized Jews. Hence the alliance of the Christians-
here and the Jews proposed by Leroy-Beaulieu against irreligion.
Thus, what is called in France the Jewish spirit, and which is feared
under this name, 'it is the spirit of the Jew de-Judaized by our contact, spirit
of negation." Leroy-Beaulieu then reviews the influence of
Jews on the arts and letters, in France and Germany, for the mino-
rer. It's the Americanization of societies, their materialism, that we're dealing with
of Jewish influence. 'There is a people who might have more rai-
It is our fault that we accuse the Jew of having worked to corrupt him. That is
Germany', where Heine, Marx, and Lassalle distinguished themselves, but.
Even there, they did not have a monopoly on intellectual radicalism
and philosophical or political negations.
As for messianism, 'the great dogma of Judah',

We must admit that it agrees, the old Eastern dogma, with
what is highest in our modern aspirations?

Antisemitism, its history and its causes, op. cit, pp. 220-221.
Israel among the nations, op. cit, p. 73.

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VIRE: p: 305.

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"l bid., p. 320.

2 Jhbid., p. 428.

Joseph Salvador, in Paris, Rome, Ferusalem, had outlined the link to
ancient Israel and modern France, and made of 'Jerusalem [...]
in the mists of the future, as the ideal center of humanity,

like the holy city of the novum fedus' ® But Darmesteter 'claims
for Paris, the profane Jerusalem of the Revolution, the title of city
saint of the new times'.

In the end, Leroy-Beaulieu will have attributed to the anti-Semites
yours—and to the 'Semites', as he says—the analogy of Judaism and the
modernism, but refuted any modernist role of the Jews. By dint of
Caution, the anti-anti-Semite sometimes resembles the anti-Semite in general.
He was kind enough to establish that anti-Semitism is a form of anti-modernism.
but not the premise, namely that Judaism was a form of modernism,
that the Jews have acted in history. As Lazarus will say later
Later, 'in reality, anti-Semites are more likely to be engaged in philosophical work-
mites',® because they make Israel the center of the world, while the
philosemites

strive to establish that the Jew is like those around him in every way.
rent and that, on the contrary, we can observe in all areas at
to him a certain inferiority, it's a way for these philosemites to
to show their anti-Semitism; it must be recognized that the Jews are showing it-
Thirty enchanted, and nothing could stop them from believing in genius.
by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu.%

The counter-test of common assimilation, among anti-anti-Semites,
between anti-Semitism and anti-modernism, making possible the slip-
elements of anti-antisemitism towards antisemitism out of concern for oblivion-
The source of all modernity for the Jews is found in Léon Bloy, whose Salvation
by the Jews (1892), contemporary with Israel among the Nahons and The Anh-
sematism, its history and its causes, remains a violent, obscure and para- text
doxal, at once so anti-modern and so anti-Semitic that the qualifications
Here too, things are reversed. Lazarus titled his account 'A Philosemite'
rendered laudatory, as he could, no less paradoxically, have initiated
to tuler 'An anti-Semite' an article on Leroy-Beaulieu. And Bloy seemed to him-
blait indeed anti-modern in its timeless perspective on the
"Jewish question," without a word on emancipation or assimilation

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5 Anti-Semitism, its history and its causes, op. cit, p. 263.

66 'Nationalism and Jewish Emancipation', L'Echo sioniste, March 1901; Jews and anti-
Semites, op. cit, p. 163.

recent: '[...] he produced a rather unmodern work, by treating the Jew under

its aspect of eternity, rather than its transient appearance.”
Lazarus also anticipates that he will not have the support of the anti-Semites
your current ones', because

He told them that their quarrel, essentially summed up in the sim-
the covetousness of a cushy plate that high-ranking officials seem to possess
Asian barons, did not contain a very haughty philosophy,

but that he will not have any more support, esteem, friendship, or praise
'Jews', since he began by mistreating them in pages
odious, of which Lazarus quotes only one exemplary sentence: 'Double
From a moral and physical point of view, the modern Jew appears to be the
a confluence of all the horrors of the world.”* The Jews cry genius
de Leroy-Beaulieu, because he is courteous to them, but 'they
will be just as outraged against Léon Bloy as they once were against
Isaiah, Jeremiah, or some other scourge. Yet, after a prologue
insulting both to Drumont and to the Jews, and even to
Drumont as a Jew ('royalties were collected with a pre-
Rothschildian decision that made an entire... drool with lust
(jealous populace of scribblers”), Bloy nonetheless indulged in this
that Lazarus called 'the glorification of the Jewish people'.®
In both insult and celebration, Bloy's excess seemed to him
that of the true prophet.

If Lazarus, who distrusts Leroy-Beaulieu's kindnesses, makes
Bloy, a prophet and a philosemite, is the one who, on the contrary
modern anti-Semites see in the Jew only the poor and the
wretched, today the proletarian of the sveatshops of Paris, London
ct New York. It is therefore completely impermeable to ingredients
contemporary socialist and racial prejudices against Jews, based on their
success in the century: 'For this modern imprecator, only one being is
holy, venerable, worthy of love and adoration: this is the Poor One!
observes Lazarus, which will lead Bloy to say in his journal: 'This Lazarus
seems to have seen, alone, that the core of my doctrine is the adoration of

'A philosemite', L'Événement, October 16, 1892; Jews and anti-Semites, op. cit., p. 135:

% Jbid., p. 72. See Salvation Through the Jews, Works, ed. Jacques Petit, Mercure de
Fran Pt 1969 LIN 500;

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poor'.7" Despite Bloy's insults, more anti-Semitic are according to

Lazarus, the moralists and historians who 'covered the Jews with praise'
but who recognized them as unfit for any great destiny; [who] have
restricts their social and historical role. Despite their politeness, these writers
'Vains' seem to me to be the truest of anti-Semites. The 'truest'
"Anti-Semites" are Brunetière and Leroy-Beaulieu who make
a clean anti-antisemitism, but one in which good intentions are mixed
of mental restrictions, while Bloy's predictions, obsessed
by the poor among the Jews, frankly anti-modern and open-
Despite their anti-Jewish sentiments, they nevertheless bear witness to the historical gra
even providential for the Jews: 'This concern for the future role of the Jews is
expressed by a singular book by Mr. Léon Bloy', will remind us again
Lazarus in a note to his 1894 work.7?

Bloy's position is too unique to be representative.
as well as that of Lazarus. Both are also
inappropriate. Bloy recounts in his diary a visit to the Grand Rabbi-
bin of France Zadoc Kahn in November 1893:

In vain, I try to make him understand the importance of my conclusion.
Even more futilely, I try to explain the violence of certain pages by
the plan to purify the object, a famous method, recommended by Saint
Thomas Aquinas. He insists, absolutely, on seeing only the letter of these
violence and is uninterested in the conclusion, which he didn't even bother to discuss.
He didn't want to inquire. Finally, he confronted me with the most abject clichés:
appeasement, conciliation, etc. This successor of Aaron assures me that iz y
There's good in all religions!!! We're definitely that stupid.
and just as much among Jews as among Catholics."

Leroy-Beaulieu's tolerance is countered by Zadoc's ecumenism
Kahn, who prefers the fine words of anti-antisemitism to tra-
Bloy's inclination towards anti-Semitism—'to exhaust the objection', he said—
he—to affirm, alone in these times, the historical mission of the Jews.

Bloy's text is arduous, so extreme is its ambition: 'Isn't-
It's not obvious that I'm the only man capable of writing things
definitive answers on the Jewish question, so basely stirred up by Drumont?'

7 Bloy, L. The Ungrateful Beggar, Journal, Paris, Laffont, 'Bouquins', 2 vols., 1999,
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7? Lazare, Anti-Semitism, its history and its causes, op. cit., p. 98.

7 The Ungrateful Beggar, op. cit., p. 71.

he noted in June 1892, when he began to write it,"* and he summarized-

He thus mastered the argument:

To express my contempt for the horrible money traffickers, for the you-
very sordid and venomous, which poisons the universe, but to say, in
At the same time, my profound veneration for the Race from which Redemption comes
has come out (Salus ex Fudaas), [...], who has good reason to await his Mass, and
which was preserved in utter ignominy only because it
is invincibly the race of Asrael, that is to say of the Holy Spirit, whose ex-
The ode will be the prodigy of Abjection. What a subject!

The route will follow this program more or less closely and will...
this paradoxical double thread of contempt and veneration: 'I continue
my Jewish pamphlet, tearing at my insides. Honorable work,
"I hope so, but how difficult it is!" Bloy, in extreme destitution,
he sinks into it completely, with an ambivalence towards Jews
which Lazarus was sensitive to and which did not leave him during the writing-
tion, as illustrated by this reflection on a fortunate slip of the tongue: 'A friend
sent me a money order for twenty francs... The money order is invalid, until...
Correction, the post office clerk wrote Lévy Bloy! What pen-
to use this Jewish name which is hostile to me, at the very moment I glorify
the Jewish race."

After having sharply distanced himself from Drumont and the priests who
They shout with him 'Death to the Jews!', Bloy recounts a visit to the market
Jews in Hamburg, in contrast to the modern world, and described "Three
Old men he encountered there. Reaching the depths of abjection, the anti-Judaism
Daism then converted into prophecy:

Everything that bore even the slightest mark of modernity vanished.
immediately for me and the subordinate boys who were rubbing shoulders with me in
swarming like slaughterhouse flies, ceased to exist,/?

for the "Three Elders" are like the prophets: 'Their ignorance-
minie {...] resembled nobility', that of the 'Three Patriarchs'
sacred', Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, figures of the Trinity.

I will long remember [...] those three incomparable scoundrels
those I still see in their putrefying smocks, heads bowed
against foreheads, on the opening of a fetid sac that would have terrified the stars-

Jbid., p. 24.

PMR Tp. 25.

Ibid, pp. 26-27.

Salvation through the Jews, op. cit., p. 27.

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ANTISEMITISM OR ANTIMODERNISM? 44]

the, where the countless
objects of some arch-Semitic trade. / I owe them this homage
of an almost affectionate memory, for having evoked in my mind the
the most grandiose images that could enter the passenger compartment without
magnificence of a mortal mind.

The journey through antisemitism is thus accomplished through meditation
on the “Three Vicillards”, culminating in an absolute: 'The history of the Jews
It blocks the history of humankind, like a dam blocks a river.
to raise the level? A proposal that sums up the overcoming
and that Lazarus will remember.

Bloy then returns to the call for the conversion of the Jews, following
Good Friday prayers:

[Their will [...] was infernal. These damned people knew they were powerful.]
and their detestable joy consisted in indefinitely delaying this glorious Reign-
The joy awaited by the captives, by immortalizing the Victim. / The Salvation of
were all peoples, through their malice, diabolically suspended?!

Is it in modern times, in the face of the rise of politico- anti-Semitism
tic, the return of the old medieval anti-Semitism which can now
to be seen as a philo-Semite, because he entrusts a historical mission to
Jews? In essence, nothing else is found in Bloy's pamphlet.
Aside from his personal exegeses and prophecies, what else could this former
Christian sentiment towards the 'inexorable creditors of the Holy Spirit',
who opposed the Blood of Christ'.

'The anathema race was [...] always, for Christians, both
an object of horror and the occasion for a mysterious fear.” Horror
and fear, abjection and grandeur, or indignation and generosity, Bloy
constantly plays with this tension that Darmesteter pointed out as

inherent in medieval Catholic sentiment towards Jews:

The people's hatred of the Jew is the work of the Church, and that is why-
The Church alone protects him from the furies it has unleashed.

born. It's because she both needs the Jew and is afraid of him [...]: it's
The demon who holds the key to the sanctuary. Hence the priest's great dream:
not to burn the Jew, but to convert him.*t

7 a.m. D. 28.

M Jbid.. p. 30.

8 “A philosemite’, art. cit, p. 39.

81 Salvation through the Jews, op. cit., p. 48.

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8% The Prophets of Israel, op. cit., pp. 183–184.

For Bloy, however, the conversion of the Jews will not only be,
as orthodoxy dictates, but the cause of the end times, as
He specified this in the leaflet accompanying the volume:

The author, frankly hostile to anti-Semites, whose utter emptiness he demonstrates
intellectual, not afraid to take sides with the race of Israel, at
in the name of the highest interests, and he goes so far as to claim that salvation
of humankind is the source of the destiny of the Jews.”

How could Lazarus have endured the anti-Semitic fury of the pre-
Bloy's first pages, before what remains, despite the idiosyncrasy
Bloyenne and his final prophetic message, a call for mass conversion
Jews in the medieval tradition? We can make several hypotheses.
Theses, apart from the overly simplistic one of self-hatred. The pre-
Lazare's first articles on Jews and anti-Semites, up to the affair
Dreyfus, were themselves hostile to his people, and no less unjust-
such as Bloy's diatribes, particularly against the Jews of the East.
Lazarus' tirade in 1890 against the Universal Israelite Alliance has
was cited, and, in the previous issue of the Political Interviews and
literary figures, Lazarus, already questioning the reasons for the resurgence
of antisemitism, he regretted that it was no longer a 'manifestation'
“religious”: 'Faith has now become too weak to allow-
'tre of the crusades in the absolute sense of the word'. On the one hand the Israelites-
They don't have very firm convictions; as Father said
Regensburg 'they are no longer Jewish, they are not yet Christian'.
The Hebrew religion has long since fallen into

a simplistic rationalism; it seems to borrow its dogmas from the Declaration
human rights [...]. On the other hand, the theological state of mind of
Christians are not very suited to such intolerance; the estimable
Torquemada's intransigence is not in vogue, and the air, which we
is customary, can no longer conjure up dreamers similar to the illus-
"tre inquisiteur."

Two years later, Bloy was to rediscover this high point in his own way.
ambition and to restore to the Jews a historical role and dignity.
Lazare went on to identify the 'true cause' of anti-Semitism
as 'social', the struggle of 'those who have nothing, against those who

% The Ungrateful Beggar, op. cit, p. 40.

% See note 55.

'Jews and Israelites', Political and Literary Conversations, September 1, 1890; Jews and a
Semiles, op. cit, pp. 3-4.

have too much', and he distinguished between Jews and Israelites, like the rich
and the poor:

The Jew [...] is the one who is dominated by the sole preoccupation of
to make a quick fortune. [...] He is proud, greedy, and deceitful. [...]
But alongside this despicable Judaism, rotten with greed, hat-
Beyond noble gestures and generous wills, there are beings who are entirely
different, 11 is of the Israelites. [...] They are poor or mediocre
rich [...]. And all these Israelites are tired of being confused with
a mob of scoundrels and lunatics.

Lazare, in his anti-capitalism, anti-cosmopolitanism and anti-solidarism
radicals, therefore, recognized a certain 'just' anti-Semitism, against
those he called 'Jews', while attacking the 'Israelites'
The anti-Semites were barking up the wrong tree: '[...] it would be fitting,' he concluded
that the anti-Semites, finally righteous, become instead anti-Jewish, they would be
Some, on that day, had many Israelites with them." Now, isn't it-
This also includes in Bloy an anti-Jewish sentiment, in the sense that Lazarus
used this term, which could be called philosemite, that is to say
close to the poor Israelites? Thus, in Bloy's attack against the
As a Jew, Lazarus was ready to see an apology for the Israelite. On one point
The two men met again.

Jesus is the flower of Semitic consciousness; he is its blossoming.
of this love, this charity, this universal pity that burned soul
prophets of Israel [...]. Israel's only fault was not to com-
Assuming that Jesus was born and the Gospel formulated, he simply had to disappear.
having accomplished his task. If Judas had abdicated, he would have lived forever.
permanently in the memory of men.

Thus spoke, not Bloy but Lazare, in June 1892, at
at the very moment when Bloy was struggling with Salvation Through the Jews,* when Lazarus
This would be: 'Our Savior himself, who was the Lion of Judah, the Jew
by nature par excellence;—an unspeakable Jew?",” 'Slave, the Scorned,
the Humiliated One, the Leper, the horrible beggar of whom all the prophets
spoke.” '[The Blood that was shed on the Cross [...] is, naturally-
"mentally and supernaturally of Jewish blood," Bloy would later note in the
preface to the 1906 reissue of Salut par les juys, dedicated to Raïssa
Maritain.°

& 'Synthesis of anti-Semitism by Edmond Picard', Political and Literary Conversations
res, June 1892; shud., p. 31.

Salvation through the Jews, op. cit., p. 24. |

90 Jhid., p. 32; cited by Lazare, 'Un philosemite', art. at., p. 37.

%1 Bloy, Works, op. cit., t. IX, p. 346.

And that is because the Jews did not know how to welcome and love the poor.

Lazarus judged it divine that Léon Bloy should find insults for them that

No Christian apologist, no religious polemicist had found
92

Again."

For Lazare as for Bloy, everything then hinges on the relationship between the Jew and the
poor, and the Jew and the poor man who was Christ. Now Darmesteter had
He too noted this link between the poor and the Jew in the Church, and their separation
modern rationale as a condition of antisemitism: '[...] the
Two great oppressed groups of the Middle Ages, the common people and the Jew, are put
face to face, one thrown prey to the other'

Thus the reasons for the meeting between Bloy and Lazare were named
breux, as well as their shared refusal, obviously doomed to failure,
to allow oneself to be trapped in the alternative of anti-Semitism and

philosemitism:

Those who seek me from the Jewish side will be mistaken, those who
Those who seek me from the anti-Jewish side will be mistaken.
Between the two, they will make an even greater mistake.

proclaimed Bloy,"* while Lazarus warned at the beginning of L'Anti-
Semihism, its history and its causes:

I was accused both of being anti-Semitic and of being too outspoken.
They defended the Jews, and to judge what I had written, they placed themselves
from the point of view of antisemitism or from that of philosemitism.
was wrong because I am neither anti-Semitic nor philo-Semitic."

The most convincing explanation for this strange complicity lies in
However, much later, in Lazarus's notes for The Dung Heap
of Job, a title in the style of Bloy for a text left unfinished at his death in 1903:
'The Jew has always been exploited by anti-Semites and by philo-
Semites. The idea that the philosemite has of the recognition that he
"The Jew must."® Lazarus distrusts philosemites, because the philosemi-
Tism, except in Bloy's case, involves the disavowal of dignity
history of the Jews. A Leroy-Beaulicu is anti-anti-Semitic by reason-
his/her and asks for gratitude for his/her generosity, for example by
making common cause against irreligion. Lazarus prefers intolerance-

* 'A philosemite', art. cit., p. 38.

® The Prophets of Israel, op. at, p. 191.

%° The Ungrateful Beggar, op. cit., p. 34.

Antisemitism, its history and its causes, op. cit., preface, p. 39.

% Le Fumier de ob, ed. Philippe Oriol, Champion, Paris, 1998, p. 61.

Bloy's loyal rance, which maintains the anti-Jewish discourse by sur-
rising thanks to his hatred of Drumont, to the correct liberalism of
Leroy-Beaulieu, who concedes that not everything in La France is false
Jewish. At least in Bloy's case, no indulgence. Consequently, no demand
no recognition is formulated: 'Spare the rod and spoil the child'", summary-
Master Lazarus." As Bloy does not conceive of any affinity between Judaism

and modernism, he is not suspected of anti-Semitism as antimo-
dernisme, nor, anti-anti-Semitic variant, as obliteration of the modern-
Jewish nationalism, or at least that's the only side he sees. The premise
Jewish modernism is so absent in his work, not denied as
at Leroy-Beaulieu, but null and void, which he could not possibly have there
to have Bloyan anti-Semitism: such, it seems, is the conviction of
Lazarus. Contemporary antisemitism is based on the analogy of the
Judaism and modernism, and anti-antisemitism on denial
of this analogy, so much so that total ignorance of this analogy
in Bloy's work, to the point that one wonders by what miracle or confession-
The fact that he escaped unharmed renders him innocent of the slightest anti-
Semitism, even that of the anti-anti-Semites. The fact remains that Salvation through
The Jews is deeply ambiguous and Bloy is playing with fire: he
reproduces all the anti-Jewish Christian stereotypes before transgressing them
in a pro-Jewish prophecy. Depending on whether one focuses on these or on
"That one, we'll classify his pamphlet in a completely different way."

It is impossible to go beyond this contradictory conclusion. The
Judaism, or more precisely prophecy, as it was called
Darmesteter—that is, Judaism minus the worship, minus the Talmud,
that is to say the Bible—, was a modernism, the best incarnation
of the modern spirit as faith in science and social progress.
This was the viewpoint of the liberal and anti-Semitic bourgeoisie,
who, however, took care not to make the Jews too responsible
the successes of the modern spirit in France, for fear of stirring up the
A reaction against them. Thus, the rising anti-Semitism was an anti-modern-
Anarchism, fear of science, and hatred of progress combined. That was it.
an irrational feeling that Leroy-Beaulieu undertook to cure or to
warn. Lazarus's point of view was quite different at the beginning

% 'A philosemite', art. cit., p. 39.

Unexpectedly, this conclusion is not unlike that
by Yirmiyahu Yovel on Nietzsche, in The Jews according to Hegel and Nietzsche, trans.
fr, Éd. du Seuil, Paris, 2001.

from the 1890s, before the Dreyfus affair, and it remains somewhat
Confused. Anti-Jewish in his own way, that is to say pro-Israelite, he was himself
also favorable to assimilation, at least for the Jews of France,
that is to say the Israelites, but he wanted it visible, en masse, like a
conversion: 'To tell the truth, it is perhaps the Church that has found the only
One way to resolve the Jewish question would be to convert the Jews.
en masse," he wrote again in December 1892, two months after
his praise of Bloy, with whom he had found himself because the latter pro-
this phenotized for the Jewish people a historical, or even provi-
dental, far from the pusillanimity of a Leroy-Beaulieu who judged, for
their property, that the contribution of Jews to European history was

Negligible and in any case a thing of the past. To correct philosemitism at Leroy-Beaulieu, seeking to persuade anti-Semites that the Jews were actually harmless since they were, all things considered inferiors, Lazarus preferred the frank and archaic Catholicism of Leo Bloy–'antyuif and pro-Hebrew depending on whether one attaches oneself to the outside sentences or the intentions they contained,' like Proust had to describe his Baron de Charlus–, for he presupposed at least a historical grandeur of the Jewish people, perhaps even a national-Jewishism.

® Jews and anti-Semites', L'Événement, December 23, 1892; Jew and anti-Semites, op. cit. p. +5.

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